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War, Nationalism, and Xiao Tianshi's Transmission of Daoist Scriptures from China to Taiwan

INTRODUCTION

Xiao Tianshi 蕭天石 (1909–1986) was born in Wenshan 文山, Shaoyang 邵陽 county, Hunan. A KMT official during the War of Resistance against Japan, he spent a decade in Nanjing and another decade in Sichuan, working as a writer and editor of wartime publications. In 1949 he moved to Taiwan where, like many others, he had high hopes of rebuilding China and recovering its traditional culture. Xiao's experience in publishing and his personal interest in Daoist scriptures, mainly developed while in Sichuan, led him to establish a publishing house in Taiwan, the Ziyou chubanshe 自由出版社 (Freedom Publishing House). There, he published a large compendium of religious and philosophical works,¹ works on the intersection of politics and philosophy,² several of his own books on self-cultivation,³ and a major Daoist anthology titled *Essence of the Daoist Canon* (*Daozang jinghua* 道藏精華), published in Taipei between 1953 and 1983. His publishing house is still operating in Taipei, run by his son and daughter-in-law. Xiao is an important figure in the field of Daoist scholarship. For several decades after 1949, his *Daozang jinghua* was one of the very few reliable and well-documented

I wish to thank Xiao Tianshi's son, Xiao Dake, his wife, and his granddaughter Xiao Minghua for discussing Xiao Tianshi's life and for their cooperation. I also thank Prof. Lee Fongmao, who introduced them to me. Finally, I thank *Asia Major's* two anonymous readers, whose insightful comments helped clarify the argument and make this a better paper.

¹ *Zhongguo zixue mingzhu jicheng* 中國子學名著集成 (Taipei: Zhongguo zixue mingzhu jicheng bianyin jijinhui, 1978).

² *Shi jie wei ren cheng gong mi jue zhi fen xi; ying xiong dian fan yu ling xiu dian fan* 世界偉人成功秘訣之分析; 英雄典範與領袖典範 (Taipei: Ziyou chubanshe, 1963); *Sanmin zhuyi yu Lao-zhuang bianzheng sixiang* 三民主義與老莊辯證思想 (Taipei: Sanmin zhuyi yanjiusuo, 1967).

³ *Daojia yangshengxue gaiyao* 道家養生學概要 (Taipei: Ziyou chubanshe, 1963); *Daohai xuanwei* 道海玄微 (Taipei: Ziyou chubanshe, 1974).

sources of textual materials on Daoist self-cultivation practices, and a reference work for Western and Chinese scholars alike.⁴ Because of Xiao's interest in contemporary Daoism, a close examination of his collection will help us to better understand the late-Qing and early-Republican religious milieu that these texts represent.⁵

While Xiao is a well-known figure in Taiwan in the publishing world and in Daoist circles, his life as an officer in the Nationalist government in mainland China prior to 1949 is less known, but it is essential in understanding his intellectual development and profound influence on the next generation of scholars and practitioners in Taiwan.⁶ The present article will delve into Xiao's intellectual, political, and religious coming of age in Nationalist China, and how this background influenced his life as a publisher in Taiwan after 1949, describing Xiao and, to a certain extent, his contemporaries in a nuanced and multidimensional manner, interrogating materials from the 1920s to the 1980s; it will also provide a historical, cultural and religious background to the publication of *Daozang jinghua*. Xiao was part of a tradition of Daoist intellectuals, believers, and practitioners active in China at the turn of the twentieth century who, inspired by the advent of Western science and modernity, and by the ideals of the May Fourth movement, aided by technological advances in printing, were active in restructuring knowledge not only in Daoism, but also in Buddhism, Confucian philosophy, medicine and other fields, making them more organized as well as accessible to a larger audience. Xiao's generation of intellectuals was also inspired by nationalistic ideals, which became stronger and more urgent with the beginning of the war against Japan. Many

⁴ Starting in the late 1980s, but increasingly in size and quality in the 2000s, several publication projects of hard to find self-cultivation and ritual materials were initiated in mainland China. Ma Jiren 馬濟人, ed., *Qigong, yangsheng congshu* 氣功養生叢書 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe 1988-1990). Hu Daojing 胡道靜 et al., eds., *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1992-1994), Wang Ka 王卡, ed., *Sandong shiyi* 三洞拾遺 (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 2005).

⁵ Few scholars have given more attention to this milieu than Wang Jianchuan, whose work has been fundamental in understanding late-Qing, early-Republican religion in China, and the development of religion post-1949 in Taiwan. See in particular Wang Jianchuan 王見川, ed., *Hanren zongjiao, minjian xinyang yu yuyan shu de tansuo: Wang Jianchuan zixuanji* 漢人宗教民間信仰於預言書的探索, 王見川自選集 (Taipei: Boyang, 2008).

⁶ Nothing has been published in Chinese or Western languages on Xiao Tianshi's time in China and only a small amount on his time in Taiwan. See Fu Fengyin 傅鳳英, "Xiao Tianshi xiansheng ji qi Daojiao yangshengxue" 蕭天石先生及其道教養生學, and Luo Jingping 羅涼萍, "Xiao Tianshi ji qi dandao sixiang" 蕭天石及其丹道思想, both in Taipei shi dandao wenhua yanjiuhui and Taipei daxue dongxi zhexue yu shixue yanjiu zhongxin 台北市丹道文化研究會、台北大學東西哲學與詮釋學研究中心, eds., *Dandao zai Taiwan de liuchuan yu fazhan xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 丹道在台灣的流傳與發展學術研討會論文集 (n.p.: 2008).

of Xiao's contemporaries and close friends, including his brother, had been militarily trained, and were active in the KMT government; some had spent some time in Sichuan during the Sino-Japanese conflict, and many of them relocated to Taiwan after 1949. They saw their mission not only as simplifying, but also as rescuing and transmitting the Daoist tradition, continuing the work they had started in China, but with a renewed sense of urgency. The war effort and its physical and emotional displacements also affected Xiao's intellectual trajectory, allowing him to come into contact with religious traditions and practitioners he had not encountered, forging strong bonds in Sichuan, and strengthening them later in Taiwan; through these bonds he amassed a collection of texts which he painstakingly examined, edited and published, thus consciously forming a new Daoist Canon for the new Chinese Republic, namely, his *Daozang jinghua*.

A discussion of Xiao Tianshi and his experiences in China and Taiwan provides an opportunity to touch on a number of issues, from Republican restructuring of traditional religious knowledge, to the strong nationalist beliefs that influenced him and a generation of intellectuals, and finally how the deep political and cultural rifts that resulted in the victory of the CCP and the transfer of the KMT to Taiwan modified the religious cultures on the island. Through the example of Xiao Tianshi and *Daozang jinghua*, this article points out how religious texts were transferred to Taiwan as part of a large human mobilization, and how this transmission, complex and treacherous, later influenced the religious development of the island. This article also attempts to reveal the continuity of religious ideas and practices transferred from China to Taiwan, which should be seen side-by-side with the more powerful and common narrative of rupture, caused by the Communist victory and the Nationalist defeat. This study can shed light on how Daoism fared in a period of great turmoil, but it is also relevant to today's developments in the Daoist world: relations between Taiwan and mainland China have steadily improved, and there is now a certain amount of interest in Qingchengshan 青城山 in recovering Daoist texts that were so hastily transferred to Taiwan, in recognizing Xiao's work on behalf of Daoism, and in the process, in reconciling the two sides of the Strait.⁷

The article is divided into four sections. It starts with an assessment of the intellectual, religious and cultural milieu in which Xiao came of age. The second section discusses Xiao's early life as well as his formative years in Nanjing between 1930 and 1937, where he fo-

⁷ In this, I was helped by information gained in field interviews in Taipei and in Sichuan.

cused on military training and worked on military publications. The third section addresses Xiao's decade in Sichuan from 1939 to 1948, following the government inland retreat after the Japanese advances on the east coast; in Sichuan Xiao continued his work on military publications, was appointed magistrate of Guan county (Guanxian 灌縣) in 1944, and also became deeply acquainted with a strong local religious community. The fourth section follows Xiao's relocation to Taiwan in 1949, his founding of the Ziyou chubanshe publishing firm and his publishing efforts, most importantly *Daozang jinghua*, a collection that gathered and republished Daoist texts brought to Taiwan by Xiao himself and by members of the army and the elites who relocated there right around and after 1949.

All these efforts helped spread and establish Daoist self-cultivation practices not known in Taiwan before, and they added new perspectives to the local Taiwanese Daoist traditions. This process of transmission and of modernization of the Daoist self-cultivation market in Taiwan after 1949 did not just involve Xiao, but also other intellectuals and practitioners who moved from the mainland to Taiwan in 1949. Lee Fongmao 李豐楙 is one among a few scholars who have discussed in detail the process of modernization in the Daoist self-cultivation market in Taiwan and as well as how they were transmitted. He explains the transmission as a rescuing of a tradition in danger of being lost: "While Daoism ... suffered a disastrous setback on the mainland after 1949, its roots and branches were well-preserved with the migration of the Republic of China, along with Daoist Masters and adepts of various lineages, to Taiwan."⁸

In what follows, I draw evidence from wartime newspapers to which Xiao contributed and was editor in China before 1949, from textual materials he collected in Sichuan, the books he published in Taiwan, as well as Xiao's detailed para-textual materials (prefaces, postfaces, annotations, additions) accompanying the Daoist texts of *Daozang jinghua*. Particularly useful in understanding the religious milieu in Republican China and Xiao's ideas about self-cultivation are two companion books to *Daozang jinghua: Daohai xuanwei* 道海玄微 and

⁸ Lee Fongmao, "Transmission and Innovation; the Modernization of Daoist Inner Alchemy in Postwar Taiwan," in David Palmer and Xun Liu, eds., *Daoism in the Twentieth Century: Between Eternity and Modernity* (Berkeley: U. California P., 2012), p. 38. Li also describes Xiao Tianshi's influence on the development of the Daoist tradition in Taiwan post-1949; "Dandao yu kexue, zhengzhi: zhanhou Taiwan dandao de xiandaihua" 丹道與科學、政治、戰後台灣丹道的現代化," in *Dandao zai Taiwan de liuchuan yu fazhan* (see n. 6, above). The volume is the result of a conference organized by Prof. Li in Taiwan on the topic of post-war Taiwanese Daoism.

Daojia yangshengxue gaiyao 道家養生學概要, discussed in more detail below. My research also draws from fieldwork interviews in Taiwan of Xiao's family members, and in Sichuan of people with knowledge of Xiao's time there.

The wartime articles were essential in understanding the world Xiao inhabited during the Nanjing decade and beyond, how he viewed China and advocated for its survival during the Japanese advance; the discourse in these sources is developed in the context of the rise of Chiang Kai-shek and his New Life Movement, therefore constrained by a nationalist urge. The materials dating to the decade in Sichuan were illuminating because they indicate a radical shift in Xiao's intellectual interests and in his choice of companions, both moving towards the training of the body through self-cultivation and an exploration of different traditions; these sources reveal a wider intellectual and personal, spiritual world for Xiao that was not evident in the previous newspaper articles. The close analysis of *Daozang jinghua* and its paratextual materials, which appeared after his move to Taiwan, revealed not only a continued and renewed interest in self-cultivation, but the determination to reach a large audience in Taiwan, and to establish a network of practitioners from whom to draw upon for support and for new materials. Finally, interviews were conducted in Taiwan of Xiao's son Xiao Dake 蕭大可 and his wife, and granddaughter Xiao Minghua 蕭明華, in Sichuan with Zhang Mingxin 張明心, abbot of the Jianfugong of Qingchengshan as well as *daozhang* 道長 of Qingchengshan, and with Wang Guoping 王國平, a close confidante of Nan Huaijin 南懷瑾 (1918-2012) in his time in Nanjing.⁹ Unfortunately, the personal papers, letters and the evidence of his editorial process in the form of notes on the original texts have not yet been made publicly available, but might be in the future.

REPUBLICAN REDEFINITION OF RELIGION AND REORGANIZATION OF RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE

Two major Republican-era developments influenced Xiao's trajectory as an intellectual. The first was the redefinition of religion in China, the second was the reorganization of religious knowledge in print. Both were intimately connected with the nationalist call for

⁹ Interviews in Taipei at the Ziyou Chubanshe with the Xiao family were conducted on January 7, 2012, December 16, 2012, April 20, 2013. Follow-up emails were exchanged with Xiao Minghua. Interviews on Qingcheng with Zhang Mingxin were conducted April 13, 2013, May 20, 2014, and September 15, 2014. The interview in Dujiangyan 都江堰, Sichuan, with Wang Guoping was conducted May 21, 2014. Nan Huaijin is discussed in detail, below.

modernization, renewal and self-strengthening and to the influence of the Christian Protestant model of religion. In recent years, scholars have discussed how the late-nineteenth and twentieth centuries saw the transformation and redefinition of religion in China.¹⁰ Influenced by modernization, scientization, as well as the Christian Protestant rejection of traditional Chinese communal religious practices, and its attempt to redefine them according to Western standards, religion in China emerged as a new category, *zongjiao* 宗教.¹¹ Rebecca Nedostup describes this as a bifurcation between religion and superstition, with superstition coming to include a variety of “unacceptable” backward behaviors, such as god-worship, fortune telling, and spirit writing; at the same time, religious practices were reorganized according to new, modern, and scientific paradigms. Xiao thus came of age in this period of secularism, a period in which, according to Yoshiko Ashiwa and David L. Wank, “elites worked to define modern ‘religion’ in scientific terms to exclude ‘superstition’ and to delimit religion in secular terms as individual belief.”¹² This latter definition excluded many communal experiences deemed superstitious, so that religion came to be identified more with personal practice and individual types of belief, understood as self-strengthening and self-improvement. At the same time, the Nationalist government launched the “smashing superstition movement” and the “convert temples into schools movement,” indicating a clear shift in its attitude towards religion.¹³

¹⁰ The most recent are: Rebecca Nedostup, *Superstitious Regimes: Religion and the Politics of Chinese Modernity* (Boston, Harvard U.P., 2009); Shuk-Wah Poon, *Negotiating Religion in Modern China: State and Common People in Guangzhou, 1900–1937* (Hong Kong: The Chinese U.P., 2011); Yoshiko Ashiwa and David L. Wank, eds., *Making Religion, Making the State* (Stanford, Stanford U.P., 2009); Mayfair Mei-Hui Yang, ed., *Chinese Religiosities: Afflictions of Modernity and State Formation* (Berkeley: U. California P., 2008); David Palmer and Vincent Goossaert, *The Religion Question in Modern China* (Chicago: U. Chicago P., 2011); Vincent Goossaert, Jan Kiely and John Lagerway, eds., *Modern Chinese Religions II: 1850–2015* (Leiden: Brill, 2015); Paul R. Katz, *Religion in China and Its Modern Fate* (Lebanon, N.H.: Brandeis U.P., 2014); Kang Bao 康豹 (Paul R. Katz), Gao Wansang 高萬桑 (Vincent Goossaert), eds., *Gaibian Zhongguo zongjiao de wushinian 改變中國宗教的五十年 1898–1948* (Taipei: Academia Sinica, Institute of Modern History, 2015).

¹¹ A recent publication on the definition of religion from a Buddhist perspective is Francesca Tarocco and Timothy Barrett, “Terminology and Religious Identity: Buddhism and the Genealogy of the Term *Zongjiao*,” in Volkhard Krech and Marion Steinicke, eds., *Dynamics in the History of Religions Between Asia and Europe: Encounters, Notions and Comparative Perspectives* (Leiden: Brill, 2012). Also see Chen Hsi-yuan 陳熙遠, “Zongjiao, yige Zhongguo jindai wenhua shi shang de guanjian ci” 宗教一個中國近代文化的關鍵詞, *Xin shixue* 新史學 13.4 (2002), pp. 37–66.

¹² Ashiwa and Wank, eds., *Making Religion*, p. 7.

¹³ Yoshiko Ashiwa, “Positioning Religion in Modernity: State and Buddhism in China,” in Ashiwa and Wank, eds., *Making Religion*, pp. 49–55.

A product of this milieu, Xiao's intellectual output reveals the shift towards a more "Christian-secular normative model,"¹⁴ in which communal rituals and liturgy are generally absent.¹⁵ However, as Vincent Goossaert and David Palmer point out, it is also essential to see that this secularization was more an aspiration than a reality, and that many beliefs and practices deemed "superstitious" continued to exist under new guises, for example through redemptive societies.¹⁶ Paul Katz makes the point that, rather than a full secularization, Chinese elites shifted their religious activities to "other types of religious engagement," like religious printing, charitable work, and self-cultivation; and Brooks Jessup, discussing modern Buddhist householder elites in Shanghai, speaks of a "deep ambivalence that could simultaneously wield secular power in one hand and numinous in the other."¹⁷

For Xiao and many other Nationalist intellectuals who were also KMT officers and/or supporters, a strong yearning for a spiritual dimension expressed itself in personal practices like self-cultivation. At the same time, while communal practices were increasingly defined as superstitious, the new governmental policies, mentioned above, were not able to eradicate the thirst for charismatic leaders and the need for communal experiences, and people joined redemptive societies and charitable activities, and continued to engage in spirit writing.¹⁸ These societies, already well entrenched since the beginning of the century, became even more important during the war against the Japanese, and many prominent political figures joined them in order to provide spiritual aid in the devastation of the war, and, later, to the aid in reconstruction.¹⁹ Xiao and his contemporaries thus moved seamlessly in

¹⁴ Defined in this way by Goossaert and Palmer, *Religion Question*, p. 73.

¹⁵ Rebecca Nedostup discusses the rise of a new kind of "Nationalist" ritual: in 1930s Nanjing, it was possible to observe a ritual competition between "the world of superstition and the world of nationalist modernity"; Rebecca Nedostup, "Ritual Competition and the Modernizing Nation State," in Yang, ed., *Chinese Religiosities*, pp. 87–112 (88). Poon, *Negotiating Religion*, discusses similar state rituals in Guangzhou.

¹⁶ Goossaert and Palmer, *Religion Question*, pp. 5, 8.

¹⁷ Katz, *Religion in China*, pp. 15–16; J. Brooks Jessup, "Buddhist Activism, Urban Space and Ambivalent Modernity in 1920s Shanghai," in Jan Kiely and J. Brooks Jessup, eds., *Recovering Buddhism in Modern China* (New York: Columbia U.P., 2016), pp. 38–78.

¹⁸ For a thorough discussion of the continued use of spirit writing among Chinese elites in the Republican era, see Paul R. Katz, "Spirit Writing and the Dynamics of Religious Life in Republican-era Shanghai," in Guoshiguan 國史館, eds., *Jindai Zhongguo de zongjiao fazhan lunwenji* 近代中國的宗教發展論文集, pp. 275–350 (Taipei: Guoshiguan, 2015).

¹⁹ On this issue, see David A. Palmer "Les mutations du discours sur les sectes en Chine moderne: Orthodoxie impériale, idéologie révolutionnaire, catégories sociologique," *Archives de sciences sociales des religions* 53.144 (Oct.-Dec., 2008), pp. 31–50, esp. 33–37. The mutual and close relationship between Daoism and Republican redemptive societies, in terms of leadership as well as ideology, has yet to be closely explored, but recent works have paved the

a world that was made more complex by the coexisting commitments to tradition and modernity, to nationalist political directives and religious aspirations, all within the context of war.²⁰

Xiao was a staunch supporter of the Nationalist regime and all of its subsequent cultural campaigns. Specifically, the New Life movement, with its emphasis on positive spirit, self-cultivation and Confucian philosophy, influenced Xiao's early interest in self-cultivation techniques, or *yangsheng* 養生, as well as his continued interest in Confucian ethics.²¹ In his first and very popular book, *Shijie weiren chenggong mijue fenxi* 世界偉人成功秘訣分析 (*Detailed Analysis of the Secret of Success of the World's Great Men*), Xiao praised self-strengthening techniques as a way to bring about personal as well as national success.²² By popularizing individual spiritual practices, which he understood in the context of self-strengthening, Xiao was committed to building a strong nation.

Another element that deeply influenced Xiao in China and Taiwan was the scientific restructuring of religious knowledge that was under way in the early Republican period. Part of a larger movement for the reorganization and simplification of traditional knowledge, inspired by the ideals of the May Fourth movement, a number of scholars of religion started reassembling and disseminating texts and information on Daoism, Buddhism, and Christianity. They were helped by the inexpensive publishing opportunities afforded through mechanical presses, which could produce cheap, mass printings, and through the development of weekly and biweekly journals. The combination of technology and simplification of content were adopted by many religious groups who hoped to expand their base and reach out to more followers. Two

way: Vincent Goossaert, *The Taoists of Peking, 1800–1949; A Social History of Urban Clerics* (Boston: Harvard U.P., 2007), David Palmer (writing about Li Yujie), “Dao and Nation: Li Yujie – May Fourth Activist, Daoist Cultivator, and Redemptive Society Patriarch in Mainland China and Taiwan,” in Palmer and Liu, eds., *Daoism in the Twentieth Century*, and Xun Liu, *Daoist Modern: Innovation, Lay Practice and the Community of Inner Alchemy in Republican Shanghai* (Boston: Harvard U.P., 2009), on Chen Yingning.

²⁰ Ownby and Palmer have discussed the coming together of all of these worlds in their discussion of Li Yujie; David Ownby: “Sainthood, Science, and Politics: The Life of Li Yujie, Founder of the Tiandijiao,” in Vincent Goossaert, Ji Zhe, and David Ownby, eds., *The Making of Saints in Modern China* (New York: Oxford U.P., forthcoming 2016), pp. 241–71; Palmer “Dao and Nation,” p. 173.

²¹ Goossaert states: “from the early twentieth century onwards, many, accommodating modern views, were willing to consider *yangsheng* as a scientific discipline”; Vincent Goossaert, “Daoists in the Modern Chinese Self-Cultivation Market: The case of Beijing, 1850–1949,” in Palmer and Liu, eds., *Daoism in the Twentieth Century*, p. 8. A discussion of how Chen Yingning's reinvention of *neidan* and *yangsheng* was heavily influenced by modern Western science appears in Liu, *Daoist Modern*.

²² Xiao Tianshi, *Shijie weiren chenggong mijue fenxi* 世界偉人成功秘訣分析 (Nanjing: Donghai shudian, 1st edn., 1936).

very prominent examples of these efforts were Chen Yingning 陳櫻寧 (1880–1969), and Ding Fubao 丁福保 (Ding Zhongyou 丁仲祐, 1874–1952). Both men were a generation older than Xiao, and were active in the cosmopolitan city of Shanghai. Chen circulated cheap publications and biweekly journals, and in this way had a great impact on the reorganization of Daoist knowledge and the diffusion of Daoist texts and notions in the Republican period.²³ Ding Fubao, in a similar way, republished and reorganized hard to find original Buddhist, Daoist and medical scriptures in his collectaneas: *Dingshi Foxue congshu* 丁氏佛學叢書 (*Master Ding's Buddhist Studies Collectanea*), published between 1918 and 1924; *Daozang jinghua lu* 道藏精華錄 (*Record of the Essence of the Daoist Canon*) (n.d. Republican Period)²⁴; and *Dingshi yixue congshu* 丁氏醫學叢書 (*Master Ding's Medicine Collectanea*) published in 1917.²⁵ These activities crossed religious traditions, from Buddhism, to Daoism, *baojuan* 寶卷 traditions, redemptive societies, Christianity.²⁶ Many small printing houses, as well as weekly and biweekly newspapers were established, and their publications were also sold in Taiwan and Southeast Asia. Their efforts to reach a wider audience with a simplified message were certainly influenced by ideals developed around the May Fourth movement, and were part of a movement to modernize Chinese traditions, and to find a new, strengthened Chinese identity, in the face of internal weakness and foreign invasion. In his publishing efforts in China and Taiwan, Xiao thus was treading a path that had been paved before him, and that was being paved concurrently by others like Wang Yiting

²³ On Chen Yingning and his effort in modernizing Daoism in the Republican period, see Liu, *Daoist Modern*. For the relationship between prominent Daoist intellectuals of the twentieth century, including Chen Yingning, Xiao Tianshi, Wang Ming 王明 (1911–1992) and Chen Guofu 陳國符 (1914–2000), and their impact on modern Daoist history, see Fu Fengying 傅風英, *Ershi shiji Zhongguo Daojiao xueshu de xin kaizhan* 二十世紀中國道教學術的新開展 (Chengdu: Bashu Shushe, 2007).

²⁴ Republished in 1990 by Zhejiang guji chubanshe.

²⁵ Shanghai: Yixue shuju, 1917. For a study of the Buddhist works of Ding Fubao, see Gregory Adam Scott, “Conversion by the Book: Buddhist Print Culture in Early Republican China,” Ph.D. diss. (Columbia University, 2013), pp. 178–244, and “Navigating the Sea of Scriptures: Ding’s Buddhist Studies Collectanea, 1918–1923,” in Philip Clart, Gregory Adam Scott, eds., *Religious Publishing and Print Culture in Modern China, 1800–2012* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), pp. 91–138. Also see Jan Kiely “Spreading the Dharma with the Mechanized Press: New Buddhist Print Cultures in the Modern Chinese Print Revolution, 1866–1949,” in Cynthia Brokaw and Christopher A. Reed, eds., *From Woodblocks to the Internet: Chinese Publishing and Print Culture in Transition, circa 1800 to 2008* (Leiden: Brill, 2010). For a discussion of Ding’s work on medical scriptures, see Bridie Andrews, *The Making of Modern Chinese Medicine, 1850–1960* (Vancouver, Toronto: U. British Columbia P., 2014), chap. 6.

²⁶ A recent collection of articles on religion and printing offers insights into the publishing efforts of religious traditions and societies during late-Qing and Republican times. See Clart and Scott, eds., *Religious Publishing and Print Culture*. Kang and Gao, *Gaibian Zhongguo*, also has much on the religious print culture.

王一亭 (1867–1938) and Li Yujie 李玉階 (1901–1994).²⁷ This transformation was occurring in other religious fields as well: Buddhist clerics Yinguang and Hongyi were engaged in the reprinting of Buddhist sutras as well as in the printing of weekly and monthly journals that would allow for a wider distribution of Buddhist ideas and for a public forum on Buddhist issues.²⁸

EARLY LIFE AND THE NANJING DECADE

As mentioned, Xiao Tianshi was born in Wenshan 文山, a town in Hunan.²⁹ He would remember his birthplace in the style-name that he created in later years, while in Taiwan: Wenshan dunsou 文山遁叟 (literally, The Old Man from Wenshan Who Escaped). Xiao's father was a prominent scholar named Xiao Yaojie 蕭瑤階 who was not only trained in the Confucian classics, but also had a deep interest in Daoism and Buddhism. In keeping with the contemporary push to open new schools, the elder Xiao set up two local schools in the area, one being Jianxi xuetang 澗溪學堂, which Xiao attended, and the other was Wenshancun xiaoxue 文山村小學. In 1930, Xiao graduated from the Chinese Literature Department of Zhongshan University in Wuchang 武昌 (Hubei 湖北).

In Nanjing

In 1930, at the age of twenty-two, Xiao entered the Chinese military academy in Nanjing. Xiao's several biographies do not mention the role of his older brother Xiao Zanyu 蕭贊育 (1905–1999) in his po-

²⁷ On Wang Yiting, see Katz, *Religion in China*, pp. 109–54.

²⁸ On Yinguang, see Jan Kiely, "The Charismatic Monk and the Chanting Masses: Master Yinguang and His Pure Land Revival Movement," in Goossaert, Ownby and Ji, eds., *Making of Saints*, pp. 30–77. On Hongyi, see Raoul Birnbaum, "Master Hongyi Looks Back: A Modern Man Becomes a Monk in Twentieth-Century China," in Steven Heine and Charles Prebish, eds., *Buddhism in the Modern World: Adaptations of an Ancient Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford U.P., 2003), pp. 75–124, and idem, "Two Turns in the Life of Master Hongyi: A Buddhist Master in 20th Century China," in Goossaert, Ownby and Ji, *Making of Saints*.

²⁹ The most widely used biography of Xiao is Li Huan 李寰, "Jianji Wenshan Dunsou" 簡記文山遁叟, in Xiao, *Daohai xuanwei*, pp. 621–30. Li Huan (1896–1989) was a Sichuanese native and KMT officer who was close to Sichuanese KMT general Yang Sen 楊森 (1884–1977). He was appointed secretary-general of the provincial government of Guizhou in 1945, and in 1948 became secretary-general of the city government of Chongqing; he moved to Taiwan in 1949. Xiao and Li must have met in Sichuan. Most of the accounts of Xiao's life that have been published in print or on the web have followed quite closely this account. A short biography that appears in all recent republications of Xiao's work is "Xiao Tianshi xiansheng xueshu nianbiao" 蕭天石先生學術年表, written by his long-time friend Nan Huajin 南懷瑾 (1918–2012) after Xiao's death. See also *Xiao Tianshi xiansheng shilue* 蕭天石先生事略, in *Guoshiguan xiancang Minguo renwu zhuanji shiliao huibian* 國史館現藏民國人物傳記史料彙編 15 (Taipei: Guoshiguan yinxing, 1996).

litical trajectory; however, in order to better understand Xiao's strong political commitment, it is essential to discuss his older brother's position in the KMT and in Chiang Kai-shek's inner circle. Xiao Zanyu was a student in the very first class, 1924, at the Whampoa Military Academy, under the direct tutelage of Chiang; many of the students in this first class maintained a close relationship with Chiang throughout their lives. Xiao Zanyu, together with several other students, had traveled to Guangzhou from the Jiangwu xuexiao in Hunan to study at the Academy. After graduating, together with Deng Wenyi 鄧文儀 and others, Xiao Zanyu moved to Russia to study at Zhongshan 中山 University in Moscow; upon his return to China in 1927, he was selected by Chiang among a group of loyal supporters to go to Japan to study at Meiji University. In February 1931, after the Manchurian incident, Zanyu returned to Nanjing and formed the Anti-Japanese National Salvation Association of Returned Students from Japan (Liu Ri xuesheng kang Ri jiuguo hui 留日學生抗日救國會). In 1932, with many who had graduated with him at Whampoa, he formed the Fuxingshe 復興社 (Revive China Society).³⁰ In Nanjing, Zanyu established further training (*xunlian ban* 訓練班) for students who had graduated from the Chinese Military Academy in Nanjing. After training, many students immediately joined the *Fuxingshe*, the core of which was called the Lixingshe 力行社 (Earnest Action Society), of which Xiao Zanyu was a leader. The *Fuxingshe* and *Lixingshe* were anti-Communist, anti-Japanese groups, extremely loyal to Chiang, and were often employed by him in secret spying missions; they were also involved first hand in the KMT social-cultural policies, like the New Life Movement.³¹ Zanyu was personally involved in the 1936 Xi'an incident, when he was detained together with Chiang; later he became Chiang's personal secretary. Xiao Tianshi, a student at the Academy in Nanjing at this time, must have observed

³⁰ This was a small group of strong supporters of Chiang Kai-shek, in an extremely volatile political environment. See Frederic Wakeman, Jr., "*Hanjian* (Traitor)! Collaboration and Retribution in Wartime Shanghai," in Wen-hsin Yeh, ed., *Becoming Chinese: Passages to Modernity and Beyond* (Berkeley: U. California P., 2000), p. 301.

³¹ On the interrelated groups *Fuxingshe*, *Lixingshe* and *Lanyishe* (Blue Shirt Society), see Xu Youwei and Philip Billingsley, "Behind the Scenes of the Xi'an Incident: The Case of the *Lixingshe*," *The China Quarterly* 154 (June 1998), pp. 283–307. Specifically: "From its founding days the organization took as its leading principles – apart from unwavering support for Chiang – anti-communism and opposition to Japanese aggression, and it played a major role in the campaign to convince the public, by force if necessary, of the correctness of the government's 'First pacify domestically, then resist the external enemy' (*annei rangwai*) policy. It further became deeply involved in the various attempts at socio-cultural revival directly related to that policy – the New Life Movement (*Xin shenghuo yundong*), the Programme for National Economic Reconstruction (*Guomin jingji jianshe yundong*), and the National Military Education Movement (*Guomin junshi xunlian yundong*)," pp. 286–87.

closely this group of KMT loyalists and possibly participated in the *xunlian* political trainings. This close connection to the core of Chiang Kai-shek's support group influenced Xiao's future life decisions.

After graduating from the Academy in 1933, Xiao remained in Nanjing and gained an interest in the publishing business; he also wrote several essays for local publications. Xiao was in Nanjing for almost all of what has been called "the Nanjing decade" of Nationalist power. In Nanjing, he lived through the tensions brought on by Japanese assaults on Chinese soil, as well as the launch of the New Life Movement in Nanchang (1934). He evacuated to Changsha at the end of 1937. In Nanjing, Xiao worked at the Donghai shudian 東海書店,³² which was later more nationalistically renamed the Xinghua shudian 興華書店 (Xiao explains that Xinghua stands for "*fuxing Zhonghua* 復興中華," or: "reviving China") and in 1937 he established *Xinghua ribao* 興華日報 (*Reviving China News*); both names are reminiscent of the Fuxingshe.³³ His background in the military academy and the quick unfolding of contemporary events are reflected in the topics he chose to publish, such as the historical importance of economics in war, with reference to the Russo-Japanese war of 1904–1905, and the role of air defense in modern warfare.³⁴ These publications contained pictures of cannon, soldiers in battle, and numerous references to national defense (*guofang* 國防). The influence of the New Life Movement, with its emphasis on positive spirit, self-cultivation and Confucian philosophy, is reflected in Xiao's first book. In it, he discusses the relationship between personal effort and outward success; this is similar to the central tenets of the New Life Movement: "the transformation of individual behavior anchored to the goal of national reconstruction, which was central to the state-building project pursued by the Nationalists during the Nanjing decade (1927–1937)."³⁵ Wang Guoping claims that the idea for the

³² The Donghai shudian had been a pro-Communist publishing house, established in 1926 by Communist sympathizers, among whom was Chen Jianbo 陳鑒波 (1904–1984), but it was closed by the KMT in 1930. See Ye Xuchang 葉緒昌, ed., *Jiangsu gemingshi cidian* 江蘇革命史詞典 (Nanjing: Nanjing Daxue chubanshe, 1993), p. 903. Revived by KMT supporters like Xiao, it maintained this name until at least 1936, but was soon after renamed.

³³ Xiao, *Shijie weiren* pref. to 28th edn., p. 7.

³⁴ In 1935, Xiao published a long article on the historical importance of economics in war, analyzing the Russo-Japanese war and its impact on China, where he stated "all wars start from a panic about the economy..."; "Ri E zhanzheng zhi yuce yu Zhongguo 日俄戰爭之預測與中國" ("The Forecasting of the Sino-Japanese War and China"), *Qiantu* 前途 3.8 (1935), p. 1, and a short article describing air defense, where he states "the twentieth century is a century 'in the air'; "Fangkong yiban yaoling zhi yanjiu" 防空一般要領之研究, in *Huangpu yuekan* 黃埔月刊 4.1 (1935), p. 1.

³⁵ Federica Ferlanti, "The New Life Movement at War: Wartime Mobilisation and State Control in Chongqing and Chengdu, 1938–1942," *European Journal of East Asian Studies* 11

book was suggested to Xiao Tianshi, through his brother Xiao Zanyu, by Chiang Kai-shek, as part of the socio-cultural indoctrination of the population.³⁶

Xiao's First Book: Shijie weiren chengong mijue zhi fenxi

An investigation of Xiao's first book, *Shijie weiren chengong mijue zhi fenxi* 世界偉人成功秘訣之分析 (*Detailed Analysis of the Secret of Success of the World's Great Men*), is critical to the understanding of his subsequent works. It was published in 1936 by the Donghai shudian in Nanjing, where he was also working at the time. In the original 1936 preface, Xiao describes it as an attempt to capture the "spirit" that drives successful people in China and around the world, as well as the tools that "great men" use to succeed. The book is divided into 5 chapters: 1. *Xiuyang yuanli* 修養原理 (Principles of self-cultivation), 2. *Lingxiu daoshu* 領袖道術 (Leadership techniques), 3. *Yuren mijue* 禦人秘訣 (Secrets formulas of management), 4. *Moulue yuanli* 謀略原理 (Strategic principles), 5. *Chushi yuanli* 處世原理 (Principles of conduct). A few of the section headings can offer a sense of the contents as having been inspired by the Chinese philosophical tradition:

"Yang haoran zhi qi de genben gongfu" 養浩然之氣的根本功夫 (The basic work of nurturing the "noble spirit")³⁷

"Yingxiong qigai" 英雄氣概 (Heroic Spirit)

"Yangcheng ziqiang buxi de lixing jingshen" 養成自強不息的力行精神³⁸ (Successfully nurture the unceasing self-strengthening forceful spirit)

Wuke wubuke zhi xionghuai" 無可無不可之胸懷³⁹ (Feelings of indeci-

(2012), pp. 187–212, p. 191.

³⁶ Wang Guoping 王國平, "Xuezhe xianzhang Xiao Tianshi" 學者縣長蕭天石, from the webpage of the Dujiangyan Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference C.P.P.C.C. (*Zhongguo renmin zhengzhi xieshang huiyi Dujiangyanshi weiyuanhui* 中國人民政治協商會議都江堰市委員會): "It is said that the 28-year-old Xiao Tianshi, who published *Shijie weiren chengong mijue zhi fenxi*, received his order to write it directly from Chiang Kai-shek 年僅28歲的蕭天石就出版了'世界偉人成功秘訣之分析', 據說此書是受命為蔣介石而寫"; accessed 4/18/2014 <<http://zx.djy.gov.cn/article.php?content=49384>>. Wang asserts this information comes from private conversations with Nan Huajin (personal communication, Dujiangyan archives, May 20, 2014).

³⁷ This quotation refers to a line in *Mengzi*, Gongsun Chou 公孫丑 1: "敢問夫子惡乎長? 曰: 我知言, 我善養吾浩然之氣." In D.C. Lau, Ho Che Wah and Chen Fong Ching, eds., *A Concordance to the Mengzi (Mengzi suizi suoyin 孟子逐字索引)*, ICS ser. 34 (Hong Kong: Commercial Press, 1995), p. 15.

³⁸ This refers to a line in *Yijing* 易經 (*Classic of Changes*), *Qian* 乾 hexagram: "天行健, 君子以自強不息."

³⁹ This refers to a line attributed to Confucius, in the *Analects*, *Wei Zi* 微子, 8 "我則異於是, 無可無不可" ("I am different from all these. I have no course for which I am predetermined, and no course against which I am predetermined.") In D.C. Lau, Ho Che Wah and Chen Fong

siveness),
Wuwo jingshen de shengren jingjie” 無我精神的聖人境界 (The Sagely
Realm’s spirit of selflessness)
“Zhizu zhizhi zhi xinhuai” 知足知止之心懷⁴⁰ (The state of mind of “be-
ing contented and knowing when to stop”).

These show that Xiao drew extensively from traditional Confucian and philosophical treatises to advance his ideas about self-strengthening.

The book also uses self-cultivation techniques, strategic advice from *Sunzi bingfa* 孫子兵法 (*The Art of War by Master Sun*), and other traditional strategic treatises including Western warfare, in order to produce a manual on internal and external strength building in the face of aggression. The preface paints the achievements of great men in military and strategic terms: “What we need to obtain from them is their principles and formal problems in fighting; their political and military strategy, but not their political and military actions, because they are contingent to the historical time, whereas one’s principles in political and military strategy can be utilized for a 1,000 years.”⁴¹ At the same time, Xiao acknowledges that he is interested in people’s ability to use their inner strength:

The reason why I wrote this book is that, many years ago, I started asking myself if the people who were successful in the world were successful because of predetermined nature 天生, because of destiny 註定, or because of chance 偶然, and also if there were any common traits in their roads to success. Later, because of my life experiences, I changed my ideas and turned against fatalism 宿命論, against the great-man theory 天才論, and against belief in spirits 鬼神論. I started thinking about looking inside, not outside.⁴²

Here, Xiao rejects traditional religious ideas of fate and belief in spirits (at this time defined as “superstitious”), and embraces a relatively personal path towards transformation and strength. This distinction would continue to be at the center of his understanding and interpretation of the Daoist tradition, and would influence his publishing work in Taiwan.

Ching, eds., *A Concordance to the Lunyu* (*Lunyu suizi suoyin* 論語逐字索引), ICS ser. 33 (Hong Kong: Commercial Press, 1995), p. 53. Translated by James Legge, *The Chinese Classics, with a Translation, Critical and Exegetical Notes, Prolegomena, and Copious Indexes, Vol. 1* (Hong Kong, London: Truebner and Co., 1861) p. 201.

⁴⁰ This phrase is taken from *Daodejing*: “知足不辱, 知止不殆, 可以長久,” chap. 44.

⁴¹ Xiao, *Shijie weiren*, pref., p. 1.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 3.

The focus on inner strength follows the contemporary redefinition of religion, discussed above, whereby religion was defined in opposition to “superstitions” like “faith healing, divination, spirit medium-ship, and the use of spirit money.”⁴³ In particular, Nedostup’s description fits Xiao’s case very closely: “KMT propagandists cast Chinese popular religion as a realm of fatalism that impeded individual agency, national unity and material progress.”⁴⁴ Xiao’s practical advice on how to find inner strength, and how to harness external strength in a moment of great national insecurity and danger also fits well in the context of Chiang Kai-shek’s increasing push for the militarization of society.⁴⁵ Early advertisements for this book appeared in *Shenbao* 申報, where the book was praised specifically for its usefulness to help the revolution:

Not only is it a jewel for one’s life successes, but it is also a guide for the revolutionary movement; statesmen and military commanders have to read it, and salaried staff and young students also have to carry one in their pockets. 不但為成功立業之寶笈，且為革命運動之指南；政治家軍事家固不可不讀，而薪俸階級人員青年學子，亦不可不人手一篇也。⁴⁶

The book was a great success, and was reprinted twenty-eight times – in Nanjing, Changsha, Chengdu, and later in Taiwan. The Taiwan publicity featured the book’s strategic and military elements, but it was presented more as an inner refinement self-help book, solidly based on Confucian ethics. This indicates a shift from a situation of immediate danger, in war-time China, to a situation of political and cultural reconstruction, in post-war Taiwan.

This is a famous work on life cultivation that everybody should read, containing the study of cultivation, the study of leadership, the study of resistance, the study of strategy, and the study of

⁴³ Goossaert, *Taoists of Peking*, p. 64. One of the most influential pieces of legislation on this matter was “Feichu bushi xingxiang wuxi kanyu banfa” 廢除卜筮星相巫覡堪輿辦法 (“Procedure for the Abolition of the Occupations of Divination, Astrology, Physiognomy, Magic and Geomancy”), late 1928. See Guo Qingyou 郭卿友, ed., *Zhonghua minguo shiqi junzheng zhiguan zhi* 中華民國時期軍政職官誌, *Annals of Officials in Republican China* (Lanzhou: Gansu renmin chubanshe, 1996), pp. 548–49.

⁴⁴ Nedostup, *Superstitious Regimes*, p. 10.

⁴⁵ “By the early 1930s, however, Jiang and the GMD party-state, now firmly established in Nanjing, were seeking to deepen the militarization of Chinese society. This desire was partly a result of mounting military threats, which demanded that ever greater numbers of Chinese be mobilized for military service... First instituted in 1933, the GMD military draft aimed to extend to all of Chinese society the same “politicized, disciplined, and morally cultivated citizenship ideal that Jiang envisioned at Whampoa.” Robert W. Cole, online review of the Ph.D. dissertation by Yan Xu: “Constructing the Soldier and the State in Modern China, 1924–1945” (The Ohio State University, 2012), *Dissertation Reviews*, Feb. 2015.

⁴⁶ *Shenbao*, May 24, 26, 28, 30; June 2, 1936.

proper social behavior. Its main value lies in allowing people to apply this, and develop their boundless capabilities, expand their great enterprise, foster their highest moral character, bring about their unparalleled advancement and status.... Everybody is a hero, everybody is a sage, everybody is a leader, and everybody is an emperor. Not only can we ourselves use this, but this can be a cultivation model in the way we deal with people and things in our lives; furthermore fathers can use it to teach children, older brothers can use it to teach younger brothers, commanding officers can use it to teach their troops, and friends can use it to encourage each other. 這是一部人人必讀的人生修養名著,包括修養學,領袖學,禦人學,謀略學,處世學.其主旨在使人能籍此而發展其無限之才能,開拓其偉大的事業,培養其崇高的品德,創造其無比的前途與地位...人人是英雄,人人是聖人,人人是領袖,人人是一個王.不但我們自己可用此為對人對事與安身立命的修養典範,而且父可以之教子,兄可以之教弟,長官可以之教部下,朋友可以之互相砥礪.⁴⁷

In 1937, still in Nanjing and working at the Xinghua shudian and at the Xinghua daily, Xiao Tianshi was also active in the Zhongwai wenhua xiehui 中外文化協會 (Association for Chinese and Western Culture). Based in Shanghai, the latter group published a short-lived newspaper, *Zhongwai wenhua* 中外文化 (Chinese and Western Cultures), which only appeared in 1937. According to *Shenbao*, Xiao was working on setting up a branch of the society in Nanjing.⁴⁸ However, at the end of the year, because of the fall of Nanjing to the Japanese, he retreated to Changsha (Hunan), abandoning all these projects.

The Nanjing decade was essential in the formation and development of Xiao's political beliefs and of his intellectual persona. He came of age there, was influenced by military, political and cultural activities, and absorbed the full force of the New Life Movement. This had a great impact on his thinking and writing, and his book is a product of this period. His decade in Sichuan on the other hand, shifted his focus, allowing for a deeper understanding of the wealth of the Chinese religious tradition, but he remained informed by Nationalist beliefs and military priorities.

⁴⁷ Xiao, *Daohai xuanwei*, p. 695.

⁴⁸ *Shenbao*, July 14 and October 6, 1937.

THE SICHUAN DECADE

In 1939, because of the Japanese advance, Xiao had to leave Changsha. Moving through Hengyang, Guizhou and Chongqing, he eventually relocated in Chengdu. This decade saw a renewed engagement with publishing pro-Nationalist literature, further military training, sharing of experiences with other relocated intellectuals, and encounters with a variety of local religious practitioners.

In Chengdu, Xiao was the head of the KMT's Military Committee (Junshi weiyuanhui 軍事委員會), head of the temporary headquarters of the Political Department (Zhengzhibu 政治部), and served on the local party committee; he was also a professor at Sichuan University. At the same time his brother, also transferred to Chengdu, was appointed by Chiang as commander-in-chief of the political department of the Military Academy of Land Forces (Lujun junguan xuexiao zhengzhibu zhongjiang zhuren 陸軍軍官學校政治部中將主任) in the city.

Publishing

Continuing in his tradition as publisher and writer, Xiao established the Dajiang Publishing House (Dajiang chubanshe 大江出版社), where he published books by himself and others on topics related to leadership, political and military strategy, and education.⁴⁹ Still an officer in the military, as part of the intellectual support for the war he was also appointed to edit and publish military publications such as *Dangjun ribao* 黨軍日報 (*KMT Military Daily*); in 1940 he was put in charge of the Whampoa Publishing House (Huangpu chubanshe 黃埔出版社), connected to the Whampoa Military Academy. As part of his responsibilities, he became the editor of *Huangpu jikan* 黃埔季刊 (*Whampoa Quarterly*),⁵⁰ and *Huangpu congshu* 黃埔叢書 (*Whampoa Collectanea*) – a book series that published mostly political and strategic treatises by Chiang Kai-shek and Sun Yatsen.⁵¹ Xiao himself contributed regularly to these publications, the content of his articles often revolving around

⁴⁹ Some of the books he published: Hu Zilin 胡子霖, *Zhouyi zhi xin yanjiu* 周易之新研究 (1939); Wang Zhizhi 王志之, *Jiaoyu xinlun* 教育新論 (1941); Wang Zhizhi, *Zhongguo ren* 中國人 (in part discusses the turmoil of the relocation after the beginning of the War against Japan). Xiao also published his own works: on military strategy, *Sunzi zhanzheng lilun zhi tixi* 孫子戰爭理論之體系 (1942) and on political strategy: *Dajun tongzhixue: lingyu dianfan yu zhengzhi dianfan* 大君統治學-領袖典範與政治典範 (1944). In 1944, he also published *Zhenglue xue chubian* 政略學初編, by Zhao Jiachao 趙家焯.

⁵⁰ Published in Chengdu from 1939-1942.

⁵¹ Some of the book published there were: *Kangri fangzhen* 抗戰方針 (1938); *Zongcai jianguo yanlun xuanji* 總裁建國言論選輯 (1940); *Zongli yijiao liujiang* 總理遺教六講 (1940), all by Chiang Kai-shek; *Zhengzhi jianshe* 政治建設 by Sun Yat-sen 孫中山 (1940).

issues of war. His 1942 article “Daxue zhongyong guanyi yu junxue zhi zuigao yuanli” 大學中庸貫義與君學之最高原理 (“Common Principles in the *Daxue* [*Great Learning*] and *Zhongyong* [*Doctrine of the Mean*] and the Highest Principles of Rulership”), combines a discussion of Confucian principles with a reflection on how to apply them in the difficult historical moment.⁵² His discussions of philosophical ideas often had a propagandistically positive attitude. One example is “Xian jieduan de kangzhan” 現階段的抗戰 (“The War of Resistance in the Current Stage”) published in a journal called *Kangzhan junren* 抗戰軍人 (*Soldiers in the War of Resistance*), and discusses the correct spirit to overcome great difficulty. Xiao says:

A soldier has his ability as his basis; ability has the *qi* as its basis; a soldier can be defeated, but the *qi* cannot be defeated; and even when the *qi* can occasionally be defeated, the will cannot be defeated. The will is the heart. ... If the whole united army and the whole people together can bear bitter difficulties, victory will be the result; “The war of resistance must be won, the building of our country must be completed 抗戰必勝建國必成.”⁵³

Nationalist Training

The last phrase is a well-known Nationalist slogan and was taken directly from a speech that Chiang Kai-shek gave in late 1938, when the Central Training Corps (Zhongyang xunlian tuan 中央訓練團; also called Zhong xunlian 中訓團) was established:

The main subjects of teaching and training are history and geography: a profound knowledge of China’s history and culture, and of China’s beautiful rivers and mountains, (and at the same time) studying in detail Japan’s history and geography, (thus) knowing yourself and knowing your enemy, only then can we attain the objective of “The war of resistance must be won, the building of our country must be completed.” 教育訓練的主要科目為歷史與地理，深切認識中國的歷史文化及中國的美好河山，詳研日本史地，知己知彼，乃可達到抗戰必勝、建國必成之目標。

⁵² Xiao Tianshi, “Daxue zhongyong guanyi yu junxue zhi zuigao yuanli” 大學中庸貫義與君學之最高原理, *Huangpu jikan* 4.3-4 (1942).

⁵³ Xiao Tianshi, “Xian jieduan de kangri” 現階段的抗戰, *Kangzhan junren* 抗戰軍人, no. 13, 1939. Other articles in this vein by Xiao Tianshi were: “Xiandai zhanzhengzhong zhi xuanchuan lue” 現代戰爭中之宣傳戰略, *Huangpu* 5.15 (1940); “Qingnian jiangxiao zhi lu” 青年將校之路, *Huangpu* 6.17 (1941), where Xiao indicates what are the most important qualities of a junior officer, all Confucian virtues: *gong* 公 (public duty), *cheng* 誠 (honesty), *zhong* 忠 (loyalty), *xin* 信 (belief), *zhi* 智 (wisdom), *ren* 仁 (benevolence), *yong* 勇 (bravery), *yan* 嚴 (rigor).

As Julia Strauss has described, the Central Training Corps was devoted to military training and political indoctrination. With the start of the War of Resistance, the military and the bureaucracy greatly expanded and with it the *xunlian* 訓練 trainings, “to which army officers and then, increasingly, senior and mid-level government bureaucrats were dispatched as detachés for one-month training courses that exclusively stressed militarization and political indoctrination.” These sessions were “normative appeals to Chinese patriotism as it styled itself the savior of the Chinese nation... The Central Training Corps’ leadership believed that the problems of the nation could be largely located in the internal orientation of the individual: most Chinese were “physically weak, passive, lacking in spiritual vigour, with non-orderly habits and lax collective organization.”⁵⁴ Xiao participated in at least one of these trainings, when, in 1943, he attended a Central Training Corps advanced class in party administration in Chongqing, at the end of which he was made magistrate of Guan county. The language and spirit of these sessions are clearly reflected in his writings, where he often talks about the “winning spirit,” “self-determination,” and strategies for “self-improvement.” Xiao’s interest in self-cultivation thus seems more relevant in light of the urgency of the moment. As Ferlanti has said, describing the New Life Movement: “The relationship between the state and its citizens was also redefined through the organization of mobilization campaigns and the formation of semi-governmental organizations whose activities blended together individual and national identity, and provided models for citizenship in Nationalist China.”⁵⁵ Xiao actively participated in this mobilization, by being part of the government bureaucracy, by writing articles debating the current situation, by supervising book series that published Nationalist propaganda, by editing war-related journals, and by exhorting people to strengthen themselves and their country.

Xiao was of course not the only one to foster associations and the use of books and journals to involve the public. At this time, intellectuals were gathering in associations in a way never seen before. One example among many is the Chinese Literary Society (Wenxie 文協; the full name is 中華全國文藝界抗敵協會, or All-China Anti-Japanese Writers Federation). It was formed on March 27, 1938, in Wuhan, by a large group of writers and intellectuals gathered there after the Japanese advance, and subsequently moved to Chongqing in August 1938.

⁵⁴ Julia Strauss, “The Evolution of Republican Government,” *The China Quarterly* 150 (June 1997), p. 347.

⁵⁵ Ferlanti, “New Life Movement at War,” p. 192.

It has been described as “the only nationwide independent cultural association surviving for the entire course of the war,”⁵⁶ and its public statements clearly displayed strong nationalistic tones. An early manifesto describes the role of writers:

Bombs and smoke rage across the horizon, cities are destroyed, the country is covered in blood. Facing the Japanese imperialists’ ruthless bandit aggression, China is now kindling the sacred flames of striving for survival and liberation. The experience of the past half year gives us a valuable lesson: if a weak country wants to resist a strong country’s invasion, it must mobilize its people from the broadest possible base and awaken their hatred towards the enemy. Intellectuals are engineers of peoples’ souls. Literature is the best weapon to encourage and mobilize people...⁵⁷

A New Intellectual Community in Sichuan

The relocation of the government to Sichuan in early 1938 included universities, newspapers and academies, which brought with them some of China’s most prominent intellectuals. The National Library, National Museum, central broadcasting station, international broadcasting stations, and all the major publishing companies moved to Chongqing. It is estimated that about 200 newspapers and as many as 1,600 periodicals also relocated to Sichuan, with their staffs, making Sichuan the publishing center of China for a number of years.⁵⁸ The Whampoa Military Academy also moved to Chengdu, as well as at least 100 schools (universities as well as primary and secondary schools) with their faculties and students. Specifically, forty-six universities relocated to Chongqing, Chengdu, and several mountainous locales in Sichuan.⁵⁹ The larger intellectual context of wartime Sichuan has not been exhaustively investigated. While there are studies of intellectuals in occupied Shanghai and Beijing, as well as of the relocation of intellectuals to Kunming (Lianda) and to communist areas in the north,

⁵⁶ Kan Liang, “Chinese Intellectuals in the War: Chongqing 1937–1945,” Ph.D. diss. (Yale University, 1995), p. 18.

⁵⁷ Quoted in Liang, “Chinese Intellectuals in the War,” p. 17.

⁵⁸ Xu Dengmin 徐登明, “Kangri zhanzheng shiqi de Sichuan qikan” 抗日戰爭時期的四川期刊, *Xinwen jie* 新聞界 (2005.5), pp. 24–25.

⁵⁹ Eight of them relocated to Chengdu; of those, five formed Huaxi lianhe daxue 華西聯合大學. Those that did not relocate either to Chongqing or Chengdu moved to Wanxian 萬縣, Bishan 璧山, Leshan 樂山, Emei shan 峨眉山; see Su Zhiliang 蘇智良 et al., *Qu dahoufang* 去大後方 (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 2005), 199–261. For a general description of this massive relocation, see also, Liu Li, “A Whole Nation Walking: ‘The Great Retreat’ in the War of Resistance, 1937–1945,” Ph.D. diss. (University of California San Diego, 2002).

very little has been written on the intellectual milieu that developed after the relocation of around seven million people to Sichuan in late 1938 and 1939.⁶⁰ Kan Liang describes wartime Chongqing, in great contrast to occupied cities on the coast, as a city “full of vitality” because of this influx of intellectuals, and because of the modern building projects.⁶¹

Xiao’s own development in Sichuan was influenced by the above turn of events as well as by coming into close contact with Sichuan’s strong religious culture. Specifically, it was the close contact with several Daoist practitioners; the influence of their teachings is clearly shown by the space Xiao devoted to their biographies, and to primary sources detailing their practices in his subsequent publications.⁶²

In this circle of acquaintances in Chengdu, Xiao met Nan Huaijin, originally from Wenzhou 温州, Zhejiang.⁶³ Nan had a similar background to Xiao’s: he came from a scholarly family and was trained in the Confucian classics, traditional medicine, and Daoism. He also trained in martial arts in Nanjing in the newly established Guoshu guan 國術館, the first national martial arts training school (*wushu xueyuan* 武術學院), which was established in 1928 as part of the *xunlian* training sessions offered by the Nationalist government.⁶⁴ Like Xiao, Nan also graduated from the Military Academy, where he subsequently taught, both in Nanjing and, after its relocation, in Chengdu. Nan was interested in Buddhism and spent time at the Chan monastery Lingyan si 靈岩寺 on Qingchengshan, studying with Buddhist Master Yuan Huanxian 袁煥仙 (1887–1966).⁶⁵ Xiao often visited Qingchengshan with him. At this temple, Nan and Xiao also encountered the philosopher Feng

⁶⁰ Chang-tai Hung, *War and Popular Culture: Resistance in Modern China, 1937–1945* (Berkeley: U. California P., 1994). Three large universities, Beida, Qinghua, and Nankai, combined into Xinan Lianhe Daxue 西南聯合大學, which moved to Changsha in 1937 and to Kunming in 1938; on this, see John Israel, *Lianda, A Chinese University in War and Revolution* (Stanford: Stanford U.P., 1998); other universities relocated to Jiangxi; altogether, 56 universities relocated to Yunnan, Guizhou, and Sichuan.

⁶¹ Liang, “Chinese Intellectuals in the War,” p. 1.

⁶² Biographies are found mostly in *Daohai xuanwei*, whereas primary texts are included in *Daozang jinghua*.

⁶³ On Nan Huaijin, see Catherine Despeux: “The “New Clothes” of Sainthood in China: The Case of Nan Huaijin (1918–2012),” in Goossaert, Ownby and Ji, *Making of Saints*, pp. 349–93.

⁶⁴ As Goossaert and Palmer (*Religion Question*, p. 114) explain, in this period martial arts were repackaged to be “scientific and modern,” a form of sport with standardized and simplified sequences, cleaned of their “superstitious” origins, and at the service of Nationalist strengthening.

⁶⁵ About this period of Nan’s life, see Wang Guoping, *Nan Huaijin de zuihou 100 tian* 南怀瑾的最后100天 (Beijing: Zhongguo qingnian chubanshe, 2012).

Youlan 馮友蘭 (1895–1990), classical scholar and historian Qian Mu 錢穆 (1895–1990), and Yanjing University philosophy professor Guo Bendao 郭本道 (1901–1948), who had brought with him from Beijing a whole copy of the *Daozang*.⁶⁶ Nan later moved to a Buddhist Monastery on Mt. Emei 峨眉 (the Daping si 大坪寺), where he stayed in seclusion for three years.⁶⁷ In 1949 he left for Taiwan, and became a popular teacher of Buddhism and Chinese religions, with a number of books to his credit.⁶⁸ Before Nan entered the monastery, he also introduced Xiao to his future wife, Cao Zheshi 曹哲士, who was from Rongxian 榮縣, south of Chengdu.⁶⁹ They married in Chengdu in 1939 and their son Xiao Dake 蕭大可 was born there. Ms. Cao, a life-long Christian and a graduate of the foreign literature department of Sichuan University, moved to Taiwan with Xiao and was an integral part of Xiao's later publishing endeavors. Nan was a life-long friend of Xiao during their time in Taiwan. Apart from being an influential teacher and writer, Nan is also credited as being an influential figure in the rapprochement process between Taiwan and China.⁷⁰

Daoist Encounters

Sichuan had been a well-known site of traditional religions (Daoism, Buddhism), as well as a hotbed for new religious movements, which often had a millenarian ideology.⁷¹ In the late-Qing and Republican periods this trend continued. Droughts, famine, and constant warfare, together with the intermittent attention of the government, caused religious organizations, especially those that offered charitable activities, to grow very fast. Some redemptive societies, like the Tongshanshe 同善社 (Fellowship of Goodness) and the Daode xueshe 道德學社 (Moral

⁶⁶ Recorded in *ibid.*, p. 4.

⁶⁷ Despeux, “New Clothes’ of Sainthood,” pp. 358–60, asserts that during this retreat Nan Huaijin continued his political activities, and came closer to the Tibetan Buddhist community.

⁶⁸ Nan Huaijin would become an authority on Chinese spirituality, writing several dozen books on Buddhism and Chinese philosophy, many of which were later translated into English and other foreign languages. A full bibliography of books in Chinese and English is given in Despeux “New Clothes’ of Sainthood.” In Taiwan, Nan and Xiao wrote reviews of each other's books and Nan often wrote forewords to Xiao's books. Nan also wrote a short biography of Xiao after he died.

⁶⁹ Reference to her name is found in the *Guoli Sichuan daxue yilan* 國立四川大學一覽, in Zhang Yan 張研 and Sun Jiaojing 孫燕京, eds., *Minguo shiliao congkan* 民國史料叢刊 1103 (Wenjiao gaodeng jiaoyu 文教-高等教育) (Daxiang Chubanshe 2009), p. 451.

⁷⁰ Despeux, “New Clothes’ of Sainthood in China,” pp. 15–16.

⁷¹ See Takeushi Fusaji 武內房司, “Qingmo Sichuan de zongjiao yundong: fuluan, xuanjiangxing zongjiao jieshe de yansheng” 清末四川的宗教運動, 扶鸞·宣講型宗教結社的誕生, in Wang Jianchuan 王見川 and Jiang Zhushan 蔣竹山, eds., *Ming Qing yilai minjian zongjiao de tansuo* 明清以來民間宗教的探索 (Shangwu wenhua chubanshe, 1996), pp. 240–65.

Studies Society) were founded in Sichuan, and then spread throughout China. They combined the Three Teachings (*sanjiao*), namely Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism in a new mixture of morality, beliefs and self-cultivation practices.⁷² Other local religious groups were the Kongmeng dao 孔孟道 and the Liumen 劉門.⁷³ Many of these religious groups gathered around altars and received texts through spirit-writing from several deities; in Sichuan, the most common were Guandi 關帝, Wenchang 文昌 and Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓. Sichuan also was host to large Daoist temples, both in the cities and on mountains. There, one could observe a strong Longmen monastic community that had flourished throughout the Qing dynasty and had produced important scriptural corpuses.⁷⁴ In the late-Qing, Sichuan had also been home to several lay Daoist communities, headed by charismatic leaders such as Fu Jinquan 傅金銓 (1765–1844), Huang Shang 黃裳 (1851–1862) and Li Xiyue 李西月 (1806–1856) – all having left large written corpuses and numerous adepts. Thus, the religious milieu Xiao encountered in Sichuan was rich and varied, as reflected in Xiao’s later publications. Xiao came into contact with a wide variety of religious specialists, practitioners (including lay self-cultivation), and traditions.

Xiao and Nan experimented with several religious traditions. Nan, through his Buddhist master Yuan Huanxian, introduced Xiao to Chan Master Guanghou 光厚, the abbot of the Baoguansi 宝光寺, a Buddhist monastery in Chengdu. In 1942, Xiao fell gravely ill and Master Guanghou taught him Buddhist and Daoist practices that helped him recover.⁷⁵ After this encounter, Xiao spent more time in active Daoist

⁷² On the early history of the *Daode xueshe* in Sichuan, see Fan Chunwu, “Confucian ‘Religion’ in the Early Republican Period, Historical Questions Concerning Duan Zhengyuan and the Morality Society,” *Chinese Studies in History* 44.1–2 (Fall 2010/Winter 2010–2011), pp. 132–55; on the early history of the Tongshanshe in Sichuan, see Wang Jianchuan, “An Exploration of the Early History of the Tongshanshe (1912–1945),” *Chinese Studies in History* 44.1–2 (Fall 2010/Winter 2010–2011), pp. 121–31. On the Confucian/Daoist Liumen tradition, active in the late-Qing through the Republican period, see Volker Olles, *Ritual Words: Daoist Liturgy and the Confucian Liumen Tradition in Sichuan Province* (Harassowitz Verlag, 2013).

⁷³ Kongmengdao beliefs and martial practices were widespread within Sichuan warlord armies in the 1920s; see Lu Zhongwei, “Huidaomen in the Republican Period,” *Chinese Studies in History*, 44.1–2, (Fall 2010/Winter 2010–2011), pp. 10–37.

⁷⁴ For a general introduction to Daoism in Sichuan in the Qing, see Qing Xitai 卿希泰, *Zhongguo Daojiao shi* 中國道教史 (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1995) 4, pp. 134–49, 344–74. Large collections of Daoist texts published at the end of the Qing dynasty in Chengdu were *Chongkan Daozang jiyao* 重刊道藏輯要 (1906), and the Daoist ritual corpus *Guangcheng yizhi* 廣成儀制, compiled by Chen Fuhui 陳復慧, better known as Chen Zhongyuan 陳仲遠 (active in Guan xian 灌縣, Sichuan, around 1750–1780), final version printed 1909–1917; both printed at the Er xian’an 二仙庵.

⁷⁵ Xiao discusses his encounter with Guanghou, as well as Guanghou’s personality, in: “Sichuan huoluohan Guanghou chanshi shilue” 四川活羅漢-光厚禪師佚事, in Xiao, *Daohai xuanwei*, pp. 584–88.

and Buddhist temples in Chengdu and on Qingchengshan. Xiao and Nan were also interested in the teachings of redemptive societies: in 1943 they started frequenting Luo Chunpu 羅春浦, a charismatic leader based on Minshan 岷山. Luo, very active in Chengdu, was famous for his “sleeping meditation” (*shuigong* 睡功).⁷⁶ While in Sichuan, Xiao also became acquainted with the teachings of Liu Zhitang 劉止唐 (Liu Yuan 劉沅; 1768–1856), master of the Liumen school, based between Chengdu and Laojun shan 老君山, in Xinjin 新津.⁷⁷ The Liumen patriarchs saw themselves as scholars steeped in Confucian ethical and moral guidelines; at the same time its followers practiced Daoist *yangsheng* methods. This combination appealed to Xiao, who included several of their texts in his *Daozang jinghua*. Xiao also spent time with Daoist Master No-Name 無名子道人 at the Erxian an 二仙庵 in Chengdu, where he received secret instructions within the Northern Branch of Daoism (Beipai 北派).⁷⁸ As his interest widened and deepened, he started collecting texts in printed and manuscript form. These practices appealed to Xiao’s continuing interest in self-cultivation, which he had discussed, though not very specifically, in his previous publications. In Sichuan, Xiao, who had not previously focused on specific religious traditions or techniques, started to discover the great variety and the great wealth of practices available, and started creating a “dictionary of self-refinement techniques.” His experience in Sichuan was key to the formation of his goals, and later he would systematically publish the manuscripts he had gathered, accompanied with explanations of the practices. He would also devote a whole chapter of *Daohai xuanwei* to his Sichuan encounters.

On Qingchengshan

While living in Chengdu, Xiao spent more and more time on Qingchengshan, drawn by its rich religious life. In 1944, he trained as

⁷⁶ This appears to be a branch of the late-imperial school Luo jiao 羅教, which later produced the Xiantian dao 先天道. Xiao directly connects Luo Chunpu to the Xiantian dao when he discusses Luo’s method of sleeping meditation. Xiao Tianshi, “Xiantian daopai Luomen Shuigong jue” 先天道派羅門睡功訣, *Daohai xuanwei*, pp. 91–94. Xiao specifically mentions that Luo Chunpu had more than a 1000 followers in Chengdu, distributed among the party, government, army and religious groups (dang zheng jun jiao 黨政軍教), *Daohai xuanwei*, p. 92.

⁷⁷ Xiao discusses Liu Yuan’s teachings in “Liu Zhitang yu Sichuan de Liumen dao” 劉止唐與劉門道, *Daohai xuanwei*, pp. 589–93. On the Liumen school, see also Olles, *Ritual Words*. Xiao includes two texts by Liu in his *Daozang jinghua*, namely, *Daodejing jie yi juan* 道德經解一卷 (*Daozang jinghua* 13.2.6) (received through spirit writing from Lü Dongbin), and *Huai-xuan yueyan* 槐軒約言 (*Daozang jinghua* 11.3.1); in the preface Xiao explains how Liu regularly received texts from Laozi and Lü Dongbin, was a proponent of “sanjiao 三教,” and instructed his followers in Quanzhen pure refinement practices (*qingjing xiulian* 清靜修煉).

⁷⁸ Xiao published several texts coming directly from *Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, which had been published in 1906 at the Er Xian’an.

an officer in Chongqing, and at that time he was appointed county magistrate (*xianzhang* 縣長) of Guan county, which includes Qingchengshan. He held this post for the next three years.⁷⁹ On Qingchengshan, Xiao claims he received initiation into the Southern school from immortal Li Babai 李八百.⁸⁰ According to Xiao's son, a high-ranking Daoist told his father that he would "leave Sichuan, travel to an island, and carry many Daoist scriptures with him."⁸¹ The Daoist explained that only a person in his position (as county magistrate) could carry scriptures out of China, and preserve them. Xiao Minghua, Xiao Tianshi's granddaughter, infers that this mysterious high-ranking Daoist was none other than Yi Xinying 易心瑩 (1896–1976), a vibrant Daoist monk, who at the time was the abbot of the Tianshidong 天師洞 monastery, the largest on Qingchengshan.⁸² Through Yi, Xiao had complete access to Tianshidong's excellent Daoist library, where he collected and/or transcribed some of the texts that he later transferred to Taiwan. Xiao's encounter with Yi Xinying left a deep influence: Yi was a serious intellectual and classically trained scholar who knew Daoist scriptures intimately; he was also a dedicated practitioner of self-cultivation.⁸³

Yi Xinying

Xiao's encounter with Yi Xinying deeply affected the way in which he would eventually represent Daoism in Taiwan.⁸⁴ Yi had entered the monastic community in his youth, and had had an eclectic religious training. He spent several years (1917–1924), as a student of Wu Junke 吳君可, a prominent scholar in Chengdu. In 1926, he also became a disciple of Yan Kai 顏楷 (1877–1927), who had entered the Hanlin Academy just before it was dissolved, had established the Si-

⁷⁹ Wang, "Xuezhe xianzhang Xiao Tianshi."

⁸⁰ A famous Sichuan Daoist whose hagiographies are well known; he is discussed by Ge Hong (283–343) in *Shenxian zhuan*; Robert Campney, *To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth: A Translation and Study of Ge Hong's Traditions of Divine Transcendents* (Berkeley: U. California P., 2002), pp. 215–18.

⁸¹ Interview with Xiao Dake, found at: <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JdKV9gLnS-8>>. Also reported in Xiao Minghua 蕭明華, "Dao de chuancheng: tan *Daozang jinghua* de bianxiu lishi he linian" 道的傳承, 初探道藏精華的編修歷史和理念, in Xiao Jingming 蕭進銘, ed., *Taiwan dandao de chuancheng fazhan yu kexue yanjiu* 臺灣丹道的傳承發展與科學研究 (Taipei: Boyang wenhua, 2013), pp. 337–352.

⁸² Xiao Minghua acknowledges this in her paper cited in the preceding footnote.

⁸³ Xiao recalls his encounter with Yi Xinying in the context of his discussion of Li Babai, in Xiao Tianshi, "Qingcheng daoren Li Babai changsheng miaodao jianshu" 青城道人李八百長生妙道簡述, *Daohai xuanwei*, pp. 594–99.

⁸⁴ There are several biographies of Yi Xinying, e.g. Qiu Jinzhi 邱進之 and Liu Weihang 刘伟航, *Zhongguo lidai mingdao* 中國歷代名道 (Guilin, Guilin jiaoyu chubanshe, 1997), pp. 600–9, and recently, a full study of Yi and his *Daojiao sanzijing*: Zhao Min 趙敏, "Yi Xinying yu 'Daojiao sanzijing'" 易心瑩與「道教三字經」, Ph.D. diss. (Sichuan University, 2010).

chuan Provincial School of Law and Politics (Sichuan fazheng xuexiao 四川法政学校), was a prominent Buddhist scholar and practitioner, and was also closely involved with the Liumen school, mentioned above. Yi spent three years of intense study at the Chongde shuwu 崇德書屋 (Studio of the Reverence of Virtue) in Chengdu, one of several Confucian-style academies founded by the Liumen school.⁸⁵ The training in the Confucian classics as well as the focus on ethical rules and precepts informed Yi's specific perspective on the Daoist scriptures. When Yi returned to Qingchengshan he devoted some years to study of the scriptures stored in the Tianshidong library and to writing.⁸⁶ Yi's erudition was well known not only in Sichuan, but also in other urban centers in China. He maintained a regular correspondence with the Daoist scholar, practitioner, and publisher Chen Yingning in Shanghai (mentioned previously), and published a number of articles in one of his journals, including an organized and detailed list of all different Daoist schools.⁸⁷ He also was known to the erudite Daoist scholar Chen Guofu 陳國符 (1914–2000),⁸⁸ as well as to the Sichuanese Daoist scholar Meng Wentong 蒙文通 (1894–1968). When his master and mentor Peng Chunxian 彭椿仙 died in 1942, Yi replaced him as abbot of Tianshidong, not long before he met Xiao. It is unclear what the relationship between Xiao and Yi was, given that Xiao was in a position of political power, in a period in which the government was interested in restructuring religious communities and often repurposing religious institutions to lay endeavors. However, Xiao, a decade his junior, was attracted by Yi's combination of training in the classics and mastery of Daoist scriptures and techniques. He describes how Yi introduced him to the stories of immortals roaming Qingchengshan, and speaks of Yi's

⁸⁵ Founded by the fourth Liumen patriarch Liu Xianjun 劉咸俊 (1871–1935).

⁸⁶ In this period, he wrote, e.g.: *Laozi tongyi* 老子通義, *Laozi daoyixue xitong biao* 老子道義學系統表, *Daojiao xitong biao* 道教系統表, *Qingcheng fengjing daolan* 青城風景導覽, *Qingcheng zhinan* 青城指南, *Daoxue keben* 道學課本, *Daojiao sanzijing* 道教三字經 (Chengdu: Er Xian'an, 1937). He also edited *Nüzi Daojiao congshu* 女子道教叢書. Some of these books were destroyed during the Cultural Revolution and are no longer extant.

⁸⁷ Yi Xinying, "Daojiao fen zong biao" 道教分宗表, and "Qixuan zhaolou shu: lun daojiao zongpai" 奇玄照樓書, 論道教宗派, collected in Hu Haiya 胡海牙, ed., *Daojia yangsheng miku* 道家養生秘庫 (Dalian: Dalian chubanshe, 1991), pp. 557–63.

⁸⁸ Chen refers to him in "Lidai daoshu mu ji daoang zhi suanxiu yu louban" 歷代道書目及道藏之纂修與鏤版," and says: "國符嘗訪道觀多處, 其道士率皆不學, 曾見《道藏》者鮮. . . . 僅四川尚有道士, 熟談道藏" ("Guofu has visited many Daoist temples, and their Daoists are often ignorant, those who have seen the *Daozang* even once are rare. . . . only in Sichuan there is a Daoist who is familiar with and can talk about the *Daozang*); also: "四川道士則頗能讀道書; 且有能著書者" ("Sichuan Daoists often can read Daoist books, furthermore, they can write books too"); Chen Guofu, *Daozang yuanliu kao* 道藏源流考 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1963), pp. 190 and 202, respectively.

serious self-cultivation practice. It was through Yi that Xiao was exposed to the large variety of Daoist scriptures and lineages. Xiao's respect for Yi's understanding of the Daoist schools is shown in his reprinting of Yi's "Qixuan zhaolou shu: lun Daojiao zongpai" 奇玄照樓書，論道教宗派 ("Book from the Marvelous and Profound Illuminated, Storied Building: A Discussion of the Daoist Schools"), in *Daohai xuanwei*, complete with a detailed chart.⁸⁹ A postscript by Xiao Tianshi reads: "This text is to commemorate refinement master and transmitter Yi Xinying from the Tianshidong [monastery] on Qingchengshan; I did not change one word of the original manuscript, in order to preserve its truth."⁹⁰

Unlike Xiao, Yi did not leave China in 1949. In 1956, he joined the Chinese Daoist Association, becoming its vice-president the next year. He was also appointed to the presidency of the Sichuanese Daoist Association. During the Cultural Revolution, he fiercely protected the collection of Daoist books at the Tianshidong from destruction by writing on the bundled books Cultural Revolution slogans like "*zuigao zhishi* 最高指示" ("the highest directive" a Maoist saying) and "*sanda wansui* 三大萬歲" ("long live the three Greats," namely, Marxism-Leninism, the Chinese Communist Party, and Mao Zedong).⁹¹ Yi died on Qingchengshan in 1976.

Leaving Sichuan

In 1948, Xiao returned to Nanjing to be the editor of *Heping ribao* 和平日報 (*Peace Daily*), another army newspaper. However, in April 1949, as the Communists entered Nanjing, he fled to Taiwan. His wife and son traveled from Sichuan to Hunan, and soon after left for Taiwan too. Xiao had entrusted them with several boxes of books that they transported from Sichuan first to Hunan by car and then to Taiwan. During the journey, some of the boxes fell into a dyke near Hengyang 衡陽, Hunan, and were not recovered. Xiao had a good relationship with Air Force commander Luo Ji 羅基, who was able to make room for the books on the plane that transported them. In the words of Xiao Tianshi's son, if it had not been for Xiao's friendship with Luo Ji, he would not have been able to transport so many books to Taiwan. This act made him well known in Taiwanese Daoist circles, earning him the nickname "Xiao Laodao 蕭老道," or "The Old Daoist Lao." Xiao's mother as well

⁸⁹ Xiao, *Daohai xuanwei*, pp. 611–20.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 617.

⁹¹ This is described in many of Yi's biographies, e.g., Qiu and Liu, *Zhongguo lidai mingdao*, p. 607.

as his daughter, Xiao Xiangjun 蕭湘君, remained in Chaoyang.⁹² Some of the Daoist books Xiao transported to Taiwan had once been stored in the Tianshidong library.⁹³ However, he clearly mentions either Yi or the Tianshidong library as a source of books only in a handful of cases, and these books were either given as gifts to him by Yi, or they were hand copied. One example is *Guben Zhouyi cantongqi jizhu* 古本周易參同契集註, by Qing-era author Chou Zhao'ao 仇兆鰲 (1638–1717), which was “given as a gift to him by Yi Xinying.” In its published preface Xiao comments that:

I obtained this book at the Tianshidong on Qingchengshan, when I was the magistrate of Guanxian in Sichuan. It was a gift from Daoist Yi Xinying, and it has remained stored in a box for over thirty years! 本書於餘作幸四川灌縣時,得之於青城山天師洞,爲易心瑩道師所贈,藏於匣中者,已三十餘年矣!⁹⁴

Xiao's extensive notes also indicate that there were many sources, such as the newly established Taipei Zhongyang Tushuguan 臺北中央圖書館, and other works were gathered from a wide network of friends and acquaintances in Taiwan. It is to this network that we now turn.

IN TAIWAN

As soon as he arrived in Taiwan, Xiao continued his revolutionary activity by attending the Geming shijian yanjiuyuan 革命實踐研究院 (Research Institute on Revolutionary Practice). Upon his graduation, he was appointed by Chiang Kai-hek, with four other intellectuals, to remain at the institute to edit the President's training speeches.⁹⁵ In 1953,

⁹² The existence of a daughter is not mentioned in any of Xiao's official biographies. Xiao Xiangjun remained in China until 1980 when she moved to Hong Kong, hoping to reunite with her father, but he passed away before she could get to Taiwan. She wrote a personal remembrance on the occasion of his death: Xiao Xiangjun in *Daojiao wenhua* 道教文化 8.6 (December 1998), pp. 23–27. (Originally written in 1988).

⁹³ A post on the website for the city of Dujiangyan 都江堰, the district where Qingchengshan is located, argues that Xiao simply took many of the rare scriptures at the Tianshidong library to Taiwan in 1949, where he then proceeded to publish them in *Daozang jinghua*. The collection, the post claims, is primarily composed of scriptures originating in the Tianshidong library: “At the same time that Xiao Tianshi entered Yi Xinying's entourage and became his disciple, he obtained the rare books from the Tianshidong's library. In 1948, when Xiao left Sichuan, he took to Taiwan Qingcheng's secret records and many other hand written books that had not been (previously) transmitted.” 同时, 萧天石还拜入易心瑩大师门下, 成为其入室弟子, 而得尽窥青城山天师洞藏经楼之秘籍。1948年, 萧天石离开四川时携出青城秘录及其它多种不传之抄本至台湾。Wang, “Xuezhe xianzhang Xiao Tianshi.”

⁹⁴ Preface to *Guben Zhouyi Cantongqi jizhu*, in *Daozang jinghua* 13.1.2. It is interesting to note that concerning this matter Xiao's son said that Yi Xinying might have given books specifically to Xiao to rescue them from the destruction that he saw coming.

⁹⁵ Many intellectuals were called upon to edit the large cache of materials (speeches, tele-

Chiang advisors to discuss state affairs and to help the Administrative Bureau to form the Guangfu Dalu sheji janjiu weiyuanhui 光復大陸設計研究委員會 (Council for Designing and Researching the Recovery of the Mainland), founded in 1954,⁹⁶ of which Xiao was a member. Thus, Xiao remained active in politics, domestic affairs, and the administration in Taiwan at least for a few years after moving there.⁹⁷ His political commitment is exemplified by the name of the publishing house that Xiao founded in Taiwan in 1951, first in Taizhong 台中 and later when it was moved to Taipei, namely, the Ziyou Chubanshe 自由出版社 (Freedom Publishing House).⁹⁸ Xiao was thirty-one at the time, and had to reinvent life for himself in Taiwan; thus he devoted himself to publishing works related to Chinese philosophy and religion, including Daoist canonical scriptures, Chinese philosophical treatises, collections of Zen and Tantric Buddhist treatises, collections of Chinese medical treatises, as well as his two treatises on self-cultivation.⁹⁹ Among many publications of Daoist, Buddhist, and medical texts, Xiao also embarked on the editing of a large compendium of Chinese philosophical and religious works titled *Zhongguo zixue mingzhu jicheng* 中國子學名著集成. It contains 108 Confucian texts, 58 Daoist works, 9 works on *yinyang* philosophy, and more.¹⁰⁰ However, his major accomplishment, one that he would work on for twenty-eight years and that accompanied him until his death was a series of seventeen “anthologies” – the previously mentioned *Daozang jinghua*. It contained many unpublished manuscripts

grams, communications with national and international political figures, diaries) compiled by Chiang’s secretaries while in China and hastily transferred to Taiwan in 1949. An initial description of the process of compilation and editing is found in Grace C. Huang, “Creating a Public Face for Posterity: The Making of Chiang Kai-shek’s Shilue Manuscripts,” *Modern China* 36.6 (November 2010), pp. 617–43.

⁹⁶ This organization, founded directly by Chiang Kai-shek had the obvious goal of recovering the mainland and was very extensive, with “divisions concerning internal affairs, international relations, the military, finance, economic, education and culture, transportation, the judicial system, borders and overseas activity,” in Hui-Ching Chang and Richard Holt, *Language, Politics and Identity in Taiwan: Naming China* (London: Routledge, 2015), p. 91.

⁹⁷ Gong Qun 龔群, “Xiao Tianshi xiansheng jianlue” 蕭天事先生簡略, *Daojiao wenhua* 5.11 (1995). Also *Xiao Tianshi xiansheng shilue*.

⁹⁸ This publishing house is still active today in Taipei and run by his son Xiao Dake, his wife, and their daughter Xiao Minghua. Wang Guoping, quoting a discussion he had with Nan Huaixin, says that Xiao’s decision to publish the scriptures he had collected was also driven by economic need. Personal communication, May 21, Dujiangyan Dangan’guan.

⁹⁹ Xiao, *Daojia yangshengxue gaiyao* and *Daohai xuanwei*.

¹⁰⁰ Xiao, together with a group of collaborators, set up a nonprofit organization (Zhongguo zixue mingzhu jicheng bianyin jijinhui), raised money for its publication, and then sent it for free to 500 libraries across the world. According to his family, his relentless efforts in completing this project contributed to his failing health and eventual death in 1986.

on late-imperial Daoism collected while in China, and later through a network of friends and acquaintances in Taiwan.

Daozang jinghua

It is in *Daojia yangshengxue gaiyao* that Xiao explains most clearly the reasons behind the publishing of *Daozang jinghua*:

From time immemorial (these texts have been preserved) until the present day, I cannot bear their loss and destruction. I want to preserve and organize their principles, that have been transmitted to us, so that, with great effort, we can collect them in their entirety, and also so that we can rigorously examine and rearrange them, collate them, and select them for publication, deleting excesses, selecting only beautiful and brilliant writings, dividing them up into different collections for publication, and calling this the “Essence of the Daoist Canon” (*Daozang jinghua*).¹⁰¹ 年來有見於此，又不忍令其散佚煙滅，爰秉整理文化遺產之旨意，特以全力廣為蒐集，並為精嚴之審訂、校勘、整理與選印，刪繁去蕪，取精擷華，分集出版，命名曰“道藏精華”。

Xiao was well aware that there had been previous large collections of Daoist scriptures after the production of the well-known *Daozang* in Ming times; in asserting the need for his collection, he explains that the earlier *Daozang jiyao* 道藏輯要 was too scholarly,¹⁰² that Ding Fubao’s *Daozang jinghua lu* 道藏精華錄 was very hard to find,¹⁰³ and *Daotong dacheng* 道統大成 contained too few works.¹⁰⁴ He then explained how *Daozang jinghua* differed: it collected the essence “*jinghua* 精華,” or “*jingyi* 精義,” of ancient Daoist books, and at the same time pairing them with later works on *neidan* and *yangsheng* (self-cultivation). However, Xiao was very careful to distinguish his idea of self-cultivation from what he termed the small vehicle (*xiaocheng* 小乘), indicating disreputable or ineffectual techniques like external alchemy, spells, and sexual techniques.¹⁰⁵

Xiao’s son Xiao Dake, in a recent interview describes three essential elements of this collection, adding to our perspectives on it:

The first point is that he rescued Daoist scriptures that would have been lost during the Cultural Revolution. The second point

¹⁰¹ Xiao, *Daojia yangshengxue gaiyao*, p. 19.

¹⁰² He Longxiang 賀龍驥, ed. (Chengdu: Er Xian’an, 1906).

¹⁰³ Ding Fubao ed. (Shanghai: Yixue shuju, 1922).

¹⁰⁴ Wang Dongting 汪東亭 (Wang Qihuo 汪啓濩), ed. (Shanghai: Shanghai qingdingtang shuju, 1900).

¹⁰⁵ Xiao, *Daojia yangsheng gaiyao*, p. 20.

is that he was publishing books from different schools that had been kept secret, that were handwritten, that had only been transmitted within families and not to outsiders. The third point is that his work of careful editorial distinction is now available for future generations.¹⁰⁶

These three elements are indeed unique to this collection. In reference to the first point, both Xiao and the people who helped him to gather the scriptures he later published were convinced that they were rescuing essential cultural documents from destruction. For the next decades, in many cases, Xiao's reprints were indeed the only available copies of rare Daoist manuscripts, which existed only in their original printing version.¹⁰⁷ Some duplicate original copies of these manuscripts are only now being discovered in libraries across China, and some have slowly been republished in recent compendia. The second and third claims are worth looking into, because here lies Xiao's great innovation. In the course of gathering scriptures from different sources, studying them and publishing them, Xiao indeed "revealed" these previously often secret, and very disparate scriptures to a larger audience and, with his editorial comments, permitted their traceability. The diversity of the sources, coupled with the extensive editorial apparatus, is unique among these kinds of collections.

Daozang jinghua consists of seventeen "anthologies" (*ji* 集), each containing between one and ten sections. Each "section" corresponds to a separate volume. Each volume contains from one to thirty-five different texts. The publication project, started in 1953, was complex, lasting more than two decades. After this time several single volumes were reprinted. The whole collection was again reprinted in 1983, and Xiao was still working on it when he died.¹⁰⁸

While it is impossible to list all the texts included in the collection here, in order to give the reader a better idea of the complexity of the work, the present appendix is a list of the ten sections of the first *ji*. The multiple texts in each of these ten sections are mostly reprinted from

¹⁰⁶ This public interview can be found at <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JdKV9gLnS-8>>.

¹⁰⁷ Xiao photocopied them and reprinted them in their entirety, making them a valuable tool for historians of Daoism and of printing.

¹⁰⁸ The scattered nature of this publishing effort has led to various authors attributing different dates to the series. William Y. Chen *A Guide to the Tao tsang ching hua*, (N.p., Chinese Materials Center, 1984), indexes a 1963 edition containing 108 titles in 115 volumes; Zhu Yueli 朱越利, *Daojing zonglun* 道經總論 (A general study of Daoist scriptures) (Shenyang: Liaoning jiaoyu chubanshe, 1992), mentions a 1956 and a 1973 edition. Yokote Yutaka 横手裕, *Daozang jinghua mulu* 道藏精華目錄 (Bukkyō Dōkyō kōshōhan 佛道教交交渉班, Monbu kagaku shō 文部科學省, 2013), is the latest and most accurate cataloging effort, based on the 1983 edition, and puts the total number of texts at 509.

Ding Fubao's *Daozang jinghua lu* and from Min Yide's *Daozang xubian* (see below), but they also include texts by Xiao himself. In general, Xiao arranged the texts according to themes, rather than to schools or authors. For example, each one of the sections in the first *ji* features texts on a similar theme. The first section features a selection of texts on *yangsheng*, the second has different commentaries on *Cantongqi*, the third features texts mostly attributed to Lü Dongbin, the fourth features different versions and commentaries on *Wuzhenpian*, and so forth (see the appendix for specific contents).

Sources

The general preface to the 1983 reprint of *Daozang jinghua*, “Xinbian Daozang jinghua yaozhi liyan” 新編道藏精華要旨例言 (“Introductory Remarks to the New Edition of *Daozang jinghua*”), provides essential information about how the collection came together:

Some (texts) are in *Zhengtong Daozang*, but I have chosen not to use the *Daozang* copy, rather editions reprinted by later Daoists with later commentaries; some are Ming and Qing alchemical texts that were not included in the *Daozang*, some are popular editions, some are books stored in private collections, some are hand-written copies of Song, Yuan, Ming, and Qing texts. Some are selected from historical compendia; what is published profoundly exceeds the structure/scope of the *Daozang*.¹⁰⁹ 有為道藏中書，未採用道藏版本，而選刊後世道門所刊的較佳版本及註本。有為明清以來沒收入藏之丹經道籍，此則尤多後來居上之節本。有為坊間流通本，有私人藏書家之秘藏孤本，有為宋元明清道家之手抄本。有選自歷代古真所輯列之全書者；所刊遠超出道藏之範圍。

Xiao also provides extremely detailed accounts of the provenance of the texts, as well as the specific edition used. He lists his general sources as the Guoli zhongyang tushuguan 國立中央圖書館,¹¹⁰ the Ming Daoist Canon, and private collections coming from all over China. More specifically he provides a list of the Daoist collections and encyclopedias he draws upon, both large and small:

¹⁰⁹ *Xinbian Daozang jinghua liyan*, in *Daozang jinghua* 1, pp. 1–12.

¹¹⁰ Also known as Guojia tushuguan 國家圖書館. The collection of this newly established central library in Taiwan is comprised of books once stored in the Beiping tushuguan 北平圖書館 and in the Dongbei Daxue tushuguan 東北大學圖書館 (Dongbei Daxue had relocated to Xi'an and then to Chengdu during the Japanese invasion).

Table. Xiao's List of Sources for His Daozang jinghua

Source: *Xinbian Daozang jinghua liyan*. In *Daozang jinghua* 1, pp. 1-12

COLLECTION	AUTHOR (EDITOR)	DATE	PUB. PLACE
<i>Daozang jinghua lu</i> 道藏精華錄 (Record of the Essential Splendors of the Daoist Canon)	Ding Fubao 丁福保 (Ding Zhongyou 丁仲祐, 1874-1952) (ed.)	1922	Shanghai
<i>Daozang jiyao</i> 道藏輯要 (Essentials of the Daoist Canon)	Jiang Yuanting 蔣元庭 (1755-1819) (ed.)	Jiaqing	Jiangnan
<i>Daotong Dacheng</i> 道統大成 (Great Achievement of the Orthodoxy of the Dao)	Wang Qihuo 汪啓瀟 (Wang Dongting 東亭 1839-1917)	1900	Shanghai
<i>Daozang xubian</i> 道藏續編 (Sequel to the Daoist Canon)	Min Yide 閔一得 (1748-1836) (ed.)	1834	Jingai shan 金蓋山 (Zhejiang)
<i>Gushuyinlou cangshu</i> 古書隱樓藏書 (Books Held at the Gushuyinlou)	Min Yide 閔一得 (1748-1836) (ed.)	n.d.	Jingai shan
<i>Daoshu shiqizhong</i> 道書十七種 (Seventeen Books on the Dao)	Fu Jinquan (1765-1844) (ed.)	1842	Hechuan (Sichuan)
<i>Daoyan wuzhong</i> 道言五種 (Five books on Daoist Words) ^A	Tao Susi 陶素昶 (early Qing)	Kangxi	
<i>Daoshu shi'er zhong</i> 道書十二種 (Twelve Books on the Dao)	Liu Yiming 劉一明 (1734-1821) (ed.)	1819	
<i>Dadao mishu shisan zhong</i> 大道秘書十三種 (Thirteen Secret Books on the Dao)	?	n.d.	Tianshidong, Qingchengshan
<i>Dunhuang miji daoshu zhenji</i> 敦煌秘籍道書真蹟 (True Traces of the Rare Daoist Books from Dunhuang) ^B			
<i>Dadao xiudu zhenti congshu</i> 大道修渡真諦叢書 (Collection on the True Meaning of the Cultivation and Salvation of the Great Dao)	published by the Daoyuan 道院 ^C	1936	Nanjing
<i>Donghan xieben daode zanjuan</i> 東漢寫本道德殘卷 (Incomplete Chapter of E. Han Ms. on <i>Dao</i> and <i>De</i>)	?	n.d.	
<i>Fanghu waishi congbian</i> 方壺外史 (External Secretary of Mount Fanghu)	Lu Xixing 陸西星 (1520-1601/1606)	late Ming	
<i>Baijia daoqing miji congkan ben</i> 百家道經秘籍叢刊本 (Collection of Rare Daoist Books of the 100 Schools)	?	n.d.	

NOTES

^A Includes *Cantongqi maiwang* 參同契脉望, *Wuzhenpian yuezhuzhu* 悟真篇约注, *Jindan dayao* 金丹大要, *Jindan jiuzheng pian*, *xuanfulun* 金丹就正篇, 玄肤論, and *Chengzhilu* 承志錄. Kangxi period; rpt. 1800, 1847, 1930.

^B Possibly *Dunhuang miji liuzhen xinbian* 敦煌秘籍留真新編; ms. of unknown origin, 1947; comprised of various Daoist scriptures. Now housed library of Guoli Taiwan Daxue 國立台灣大學.

^C Pub. 1936 by Nanjing branch of the Daoyuan, a Republican-period redemptive society, also known as Red Swastika Society; see below, n. 134. The book is popular in Daoyuan religious activities in Taiwan today.

Xiao also lists some locally printed and handwritten individual texts, coming from Shanghai, Jinan, Sichuan, Nanyue, Beijing, Maoshan, Hong Kong, and Suzhou.¹¹¹

As the above makes clear, Xiao had a bias in favor of later works – those from the Ming, Qing, and Republican periods. When he included earlier works, they were usually accompanied by Ming and Qing commentaries. The most prominent Ming and Qing authors in the collection (both lay and monastic) are Lu Xixing 陸西星 (1520–1606), Wu Shouyang 伍守陽 (1574–1644), Liu Yiming 劉一明 (1734–1821), Fu Jinquan 傅金銓 (1765–1844), Min Yide 閔一得 (1748–1836), and Li Xiyue 李西月 (1806–1856). Moreover, several works are related to the cult of Zhang Sanfeng 張三丰 and Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓, both popular deities of the Ming and Qing periods. The collection also includes works produced in the very late Qing and Republican periods by authors such as Jiang Weiqiao 蔣維喬 (1873–1958),¹¹² Wang Dongting 汪東亭 (Wang Qihuo 啓濩, 1839–1917),¹¹³ Yi Xinying, Chen Yingning,¹¹⁴ Ding Fubao, Fangnei sanren 方內散人 (Wan Ligeng 萬立賡, 1848–?),¹¹⁵ Gao Rentong 高仁峒 (1841–1907),¹¹⁶ and others. Finally there are fourteen works by Xiao himself that discuss *neidan* and self-cultivation.¹¹⁷

¹¹¹ Preface to the 1983 edition.

¹¹² Jiang was an important figure in many different fields: an influential educator, politician, lay Buddhist, and an active practitioner and writer of self-cultivation manuals. He is seen as instrumental in the development of modern *qigong* 氣功, about which see Otehode Utiruto, “The Creation and Reemergence of Qigong in China,” in Ashiwa and Wank, *Making Religion*, pp. 241–65. Jiang was a popularizer of meditation techniques whose book *Yinshizi jingzuofa* 因是子靜坐法 was a best-seller. *Daozang jinghua* includes several books by Jiang: *Yin Shizi jingzuofa zhengbian* 因是子靜坐法政編 (*Daozang jinghua* 2.9.6), *Yinshizi jingzuofa xubian* 因是子靜坐法續編 (*Daozang jinghua* 2.9.7), *Yinshizi jingzuo weisheng shijian tan* 因是子靜坐衛生實驗談 and *Zhongguo yiliao yu fangfa* 中國醫療預防法 (*Daozang jinghua* 2.9.8), and *Daojiao rumen* 道教入門 (*Daozang jinghua* 1.7.5). In his prefaces, Xiao describes them as “extremely clear and easy to practice.”

¹¹³ Wang Qihuo, lay practitioner and follower of the Western school (Xipai) of *neidan*, compiled *Daotong dacheng* in 1900. The works included in *Daozang jinghua* are: *Tizhen shanren xingming yaozhi* 體真山人性命要旨 (*Daozang jinghua* 3.6.1), *Tizhen shanren jiaowai biezhuan* 體真山人教外別傳 (*Daozang jinghua* 3.6.2).

¹¹⁴ The works related to Chen included in *Daozang jinghua* are all reprints of older *neidan* texts, with his clarifying annotations, previously published by Chen in Shanghai.

¹¹⁵ The texts reprinted in *Daozang jinghua* are the most representative of Wan Ligeng: *Nanbei hecan fayao* 南北合參法要 (*Daozang jinghua* 3.7), in which he was attempting to reach a synthesis, combining the teachings of the Southern and Northern lineages of Daoism, and *Sanjiao zongzhi* 三教宗旨, combining the teachings of Daoism, Buddhism and Confucianism (*Daozang jinghua* 3.7.1).

¹¹⁶ Gao was an eminent Daoist abbot of the Baiyunguan in Beijing; the work included in *Daozang jinghua* is *Longmen mizhi* 龍門密旨 (1902), an anthology of quotations by Longmen patriarchs, collected by Gao for his students (*Daozang jinghua* 2.3.3).

¹¹⁷ These fourteen works by Xiao were republished in the collection *Daojia yangshengxue gaiyao*.

Many of the collections and editors figured in late-Qing and Republican-period attempts to reorganize and disseminate religious knowledge that had initially inspired Xiao to publish *Daozang jinghua*; they were also extremely popular when Xiao was becoming interested in Daoism. It is therefore not surprising that they should feature prominently in his collection. Both Xun Liu and Vincent Goossaert identify many of the authors as essential not only in propagating inner alchemical and self-cultivation practices in the late-imperial and Republican period, but in rendering these teachings more accessible to a wider public. In featuring their works, and his own, Xiao asserts the importance of a new kind of self-cultivation: easily accessible, simplified, standardized, streamlined, and scientific.¹¹⁸

The selection of texts in *Daozang jinghua* reflects Xiao's time in Sichuan. For example, the works of Sichuanese *neidan* author and compiler Fu Jinquan are republished in their entirety, albeit placed variously into the seventeen volumes according to contents, thus not preserving the unity of Fu's collection. Also, works by other Sichuanese authors like Li Xiyue, Huang Shang 黃裳, and Liu Yuan (all Fu Jinquan's contemporaries) also feature in the collection. Two of the scriptures coming from Sichuan are related to the cult of Lü Dongbin, very strong all over China but especially in Sichuan.¹¹⁹ The Sichuan connection is also evident in the provenances, namely the printers based in Sichuan like the just-mentioned Kongqing dongtian (connected to Li Xiyue's works), the Shoujingtang 守經堂 (connected to Liu Yuan's works), and the Shanchengtang 善成堂, which published all of Fu Jinquan works.

Yangsheng

As already mentioned, Xiao's overwhelming interest in works of self-cultivation, *yangsheng* 養生, and *neidan* 內丹 is noteworthy. In the general introduction to *Daozang jinghua*, Xiao states that he focuses on works on self-cultivation instead of the doctrinal foundations of Daoism.¹²⁰

This statement is consistent with the focus of his first book, with the influence of the anti-superstition campaigns and nationalist dis-

¹¹⁸ Goossaert, "Daoists in the Modern Chinese Self-Cultivation Market," and Liu, *Daoist Modern*, especially pp. 35-37.

¹¹⁹ They are: *Lüzu quanshu* 呂祖全書 and *Wuzhen baofa jinyujing* 悟真寶法金玉經. The former is a collection containing *Haishan qiyu* 海山奇遇 and *Chunyang xiansheng shiji* 純陽先生詩集 (*Daozang jinghua* 9.4). These texts were first published in Sichuan by Li Xiyue in 1844, at a local publishing house, the Kongqing dongtian 空青洞天.

¹²⁰ In *Daozang jinghua* 1, pp. 1-12.

course in China, but also with the need to conform to regulations on religious organizations in Taiwan: KMT officials were quite distrustful of local religions with their focus on elaborate rituals and god-worship and, consistent with the ideology they had developed in China, maintained in Taiwan the distinction between “religion” and “superstition.” Following this distinction, and being genuinely interested in personal cultivation, Xiao’s selections from the multifaceted Daoist corpus clearly indicate his preference for *yangsheng* and *neidan* scriptures, while ignoring the copious available writings on ritual and worship. The most thorough explanation of his attitude towards Daoist practices is found in his two books *Daohai xuanwei* and *Daojia yangshengxue gaiyao* (hereafter *Daojia*), both published by the Ziyou chubanshe.¹²¹ *Daohai xuanwei* is divided into six chapters and describes in detail, with charts and images to guide the reader, the self-cultivation practices that Xiao deemed most effective.¹²² The introduction enthusiastically expounds the benefits of meditation and self-cultivation. The first chapter gathers a variety of texts on silent meditation (*jingzuo* 靜坐) and on double cultivation of *xing* and *ming*; the second is dedicated to Xiantian dao 先天道 techniques; the third to Daoist longevity techniques 道家養生; the fourth to Confucian self-cultivation 儒家修養; the fifth gives accounts of the techniques Xiao came into contact while in Sichuan, providing historical information about their proponents, as well as discussing the techniques themselves; the sixth is devoted to Dunhuang Daoist scriptures reprinted by Xiao for fear that they would be lost.¹²³ *Daojia* is a comprehensive introduction, in five chapters, to meditation and inner alchemy techniques (which he collectively calls *yangsheng*) culled from the extensive readings of all the primary sources Xiao collected in *Daozang jinghua* and *Daohai xuanwei*. In the introduction, Xiao explains that the impetus behind writing the book was the necessity to state the fundamental need for everyone to practice self-cultivation in order to be a ‘person’ (*ren* 人).¹²⁴ In *Daojia*, Xiao’s explanation of *yangsheng* is devoid of overtly religious indicators:

As for the scope of the study of *yangsheng*, if we discuss it in the narrow sense, then it is only “the study of long life”; however, if we discuss it in its broader sense, then it also comprises the whole “study of the human,” or the whole “study of self-cultivation of

¹²¹ Xiao, *Daojia yangshengxue gaiyao*.

¹²² The original scriptures for many of these practices are gathered in the volumes of *Daozang jinghua*.

¹²³ Xiao, *Daohai xuanwei*, pp. 499–630.

¹²⁴ Xiao, *Daojia yangsheng gaiyao*, pref., p. 1.

human life”; ... If people desire to beautify their human life, to cause it to be different from animals, they have to transcend the ordinary in order to enter the territory of sages and Perfected (people).¹²⁵ 養生學之範圍，就其狹義則僅指“壽命學”而言；惟就其廣義言之，則係包括整個“人學”，也就是整個“人生修養學”；... 人而欲美化其人生，使其有以異與禽獸，有以超凡俗而入於聖真之域。

In this context, it is also worth noting that Xiao always uses the suffix *xue* 學 when talking about the practices in his texts. He prefers *daoxue* 道學 to *dao jiao* 道教, and he discusses *yangsheng xue* 養生學 and *neidan xue* 內丹學. This may have been influenced by the general intellectual trend of the period; other examples are Chen Yingning and his choice of *xianxue* 仙學 to define his interests in Daoist self-cultivation, and Ouyan Jian's 歐陽漸 (1870–1943) “reinvention” of Buddhism through *Foxue* 佛學. Adding this suffix makes the subject matter more removed from the investigator, as if it were an academic subject to study, and not a belief to join.¹²⁶

Networks

As discussed in a recent article by Lee Fongmao, the transmission of the Daoist tradition, its texts and practices from China to Taiwan is a complex affair involving several different actors, only one of whom was Xiao Tianshi.¹²⁷ In Taiwan, the KMT government established itself forcefully after the 1945 defeat of Japan. After 1949, it relocated, in positions of dominance, the army as well as political, religious, cultural and economic elites. Thus, it was distrustful of local religious practices and was able to command strict control over them through martial law. In 1967, the Committee for the Revival of Chinese Culture, the CRCC (Zhonghua wenhua fuxing weiyuanhui 中華文化復興委員會) was founded to disseminate “the KMT’s vision of Chinese culture...which combined traditional Confucian values such as loyalty to the state and filial piety with doctrines created by party leaders...the CRCC stood for the KMT ideal of a pan-Chinese culture, and tended

¹²⁵ Ibid., *lieyan*, p. 1.

¹²⁶ Similarly, as described by Richard Madsen, many new Buddhist and Daoist religious groups and organizations developing in Taiwan after 1949, following a “modernizing” impetus, chose to move away from ritual practices, as well as “superstition” (in the guise of burning paper money, consulting spirit mediums and offering sacrifices of meat to the gods) towards an “internalized morality.” Richard Madsen, “Religious Renaissance and Taiwan’s Modern Middle Classes,” in Yang, ed., *Chinese Religiosities*, pp. 295–322 (p. 307).

¹²⁷ Lee Fongmao, “Transmission and Innovation; the Modernization of Daoist Inner Alchemy in Postwar Taiwan,” in Palmer and Liu, *Daoism in the Twentieth Century*, pp. 196–227.

to oppose the growth of indigenous Taiwanese cults.”¹²⁸ The Taiwan Provincial Daoist Association (Taiwan sheng Daojiaohui 台灣省道教會) was established in 1951, followed by the Daoist Association of the Republic of China (Zhonghua minguo Daojiao hui 中華民國道教會) in 1966. These two provided a measure of freedom for Daoists (and for redemptive societies) to meet and practice. They were founded by Zhang Enpu 張恩溥 (1904–1969),¹²⁹ the sixty-third Celestial Master, who had also relocated to Taiwan with the help of Zhao Jiazuo 趙家焯 (d. 1982), a member of the legislative Yuan and a practitioner of inner alchemy; Li Yujie 李玉階 (1901–1994), practitioner of inner alchemy (and later founder of the new religion Tiandijiao 天帝教); Ma Bingwen 馬炳文 (1921–2002), seventh patriarch of the Western School (*xipai* 西派) of Daoism founded in Sichuan by Li Xiyue in the late-nineteenth century; and Xiao Tianshi. Other practitioners decided not to affiliate themselves with this state approved institution and organized themselves independently. This was the case, for example, of Yuan Jiegui 袁介圭 (1903–1979), a follower of Chen Yingning while in Shanghai, and his Xianxue zhongxin 仙學中心.

Because of his previous publishing expertise, and because of his ties to the Daoist world while still in China, Xiao was able to form a new network of relationships with other Daoist practitioners and intellectuals who had arrived from China, often bearing their school's texts, which they shared with him in order to be published in *Daozang jinghua*. Xiao carefully prefaced each text, detailing where it came from and how he received it. This information is essential to our understanding of the transmission of these texts from the mainland to Taiwan, as well of as the process of selection, editing and publication that they went through. It is also essential in reconstructing the human network involved.

An excerpt from one of Xiao's detailed prefaces to *Daodejing jingyi* 道德經精義 (by Huang Shang, a Jiangxi native who had relocated to Fushun 富順 in Sichuan in the nineteenth century), gives us a glimpse of his work process and of his network. *Daodejing jingyi* was given to Xiao by Ma Bingwen, who also relocated to Taiwan in 1949 and who, together with his brother Ma Jiekang 馬傑康, taught *neidan* and medi-

¹²⁸ Paul Katz, “Religion and the State in Post-War Taiwan,” *The China Quarterly* 174 (June 2003), pp. 402–3.

¹²⁹ Zhang Enpu relocated to Taiwan in 1949; see Wang Jianchuan “Qingmo riju chuqi xinzhu de daoshi Zhang tianshi” 清末日據初期新竹的道士張天師, in Lai Chitim 黎志添, ed., *Shijiu shiji yilai zhongguo defang daojiao bianqian* 十九世紀以來中國地方道教變遷 (Hong Kong: Sanlian Shushe, 2013), and Li Liliang 李麗涼, *Yidai Tianshi, Zhang Enpu yu Taiwan Daojiao* 一代天師,張恩溥與臺灣道教 (Taipei: Taibei National History Office, 2012).

tation techniques at the Daoist Academy 中華道教學院, affiliated with the above-mentioned Daoist Association.¹³⁰

This book was initially printed in the tenth year of the Guangxu reign (1884); the publication was preserved in and rescued from Liu Jing 流井 (in Zigong 自貢, Sichuan),¹³¹ but it contained many printing errors. Three years ago I obtained one printed copy from Mr. Yin Qitang 殷啓唐,¹³² but I later returned it to him with thanks, and now he has already gone to South America. The same year, in the summer, I obtained, from Mr. Ma Bingwen and Mr. Ma Jiekang, the 1875 Yangxingzhai 養性齋 edition by Mr. Wang 汪 of Huayang 華陽, but it was lacking punctuation, so I started to painstakingly punctuate it, but unfortunately I did not finish the project. Later, I again obtained, from Mr. Yu Ancheng 俞安澄,¹³³ a perfect copy from the Nanjing Daoyuan 道院 Hongwanzi hui 紅卍字會.¹³⁴ That copy was a photo-reprint; originally I drafted it using the copy from the Yangxingzhai that Mr. Ma had given me, and after editing it carefully, I changed it using the edition that Mr. Yu had from the Daoyuan. Mr. Yu was very busy with his Buddhist affairs, and did not have time to describe in detail the fate that brought him to collect this book. Because of the greatness of this book, for three years, constantly and repeatedly many Daoist friends and old people came, like the old wanderer from Nantian 南天浪跡翁, Zhenshizi 針石子,¹³⁵ Zhang Enpu, Xu

¹³⁰ The Xipai is still very active in Taiwan, and Ma is one of their most celebrated leaders.

¹³¹ Liu Jing is located in the same county (Zigong) as Fushun, where the author had settled.

¹³² Yin Qitang was part of a group of Buddhist believers who emigrated to Brazil in 1960.

¹³³ Mr. Yu had also provided Xiao with another manuscript in his possession, *Wu xing qiong yuan* 悟性窮源 by Qing-dynasty author Hanguzi 涵穀子 (*Daozang jinghua* 5.6.3), as well as *Zhenben Yijin jing* 真本易筋經 (published separately by Xiao; see n. 149, below); in other prefaces, Xiao describes Mr. Yu as interested in both Daoism and Buddhism; in fact *Wu xing qiong yuan* is described by Xiao as combining both Daoist and Buddhist ideas.

¹³⁴ Red Swastika Society was the philanthropic branch created by the Daoyuan 道元, a redemptive society founded in Shandong in the 1916, based on Buddhist and Daoist philosophies, with a strong *neidan* content; it later flourished in Taiwan. See Sakai Tadao 酒井忠夫, "Daoyuan de yan'ge" 道院的沿革, Yao Chuande 姚傳德, trans., *Minjian zongjiao* 民間宗教3 (1997), pp. 93-150.

¹³⁵ Zhenshizi (1896?-1976) from Huang Gang 黃崗, Hubei; his real name was Fang Yi 方毅, zi Fang Wuchu 方悟初, religious name Fang Daxin 方大心. He earned a degree in law and politics; in the Republican period he held posts as military judge, chief public prosecutor, and county magistrate. He was also a practitioner of both Daoism and Buddhism, and spent time in Sichuan. After moving to Taiwan, he held the post of public defense counsel in the district courts. His most famous disciple was Nan Huaijin, who wrote an obituary for him: "Fang Wuchu xiansheng jinian ji" 方悟初先生紀念集, *Chanhai lice* 禪海蠡測 (Taizhong: Ziyou chuban-

Zhuoxiu,¹³⁶ and other people who over and over told me to hurry [in printing it].¹³⁷

本書原刻於光緒十年，版存自流井，魯魚亥豕，誤刻不少。三年前得一刊本於殷啓唐先生處，後得璧還，今已奇往南美矣。本年夏間先得馬炳文馬傑康二先生所藏乙亥華陽汪氏養性齋刊本，無句讀，經其細心圈點之，惜未竟。後復得南京紅卍字會道院精刻本於俞安澄先生處。本次所影印，原擬用馬藏養性齋刊本，經仔細校勘之後，又改用俞藏道院刊本。俞以正忙於佛事，未及執筆述其藏書因緣。又本書之景行，三年來疊經道友通玄老叟，... 有與張恩溥，許卓修等諸先生再三催足。

This preface highlights the variety of different backgrounds present among Xiao's network: KMT officials, lay practitioners of both Buddhism and Daoism, redemptive society adepts, lay *neidan* enthusiasts, and clerical leaders, like the relocated Celestial Master Zhang Enpu. It underscores the seamless connections between secular, official, and religious worlds in the Republican period and beyond; once moved to Taiwan, the same elites continued to move between these worlds.

Another example of the wide network Xiao was able to create and draw from is his interaction with Mr. Jiang Xiasheng 江黎生, who did not meet Xiao prior to their escape to Taiwan.¹³⁸ He donated several books to him, including ones by Fu Jinqun, such as *Daoshu yiguan zhenji yijianlu* 道書一貫真機易簡錄 (*Daoist Books That Record the Single*

she, 1955). See Li Liliang, "Taiwan jieyanqian de liang zhong xiandao kanwu: 'Xianxue' yu 'Xiandao'" 臺灣解嚴前的兩種仙道刊物, "仙學" 與 "仙道", in Lai Shenzong 賴賢宗 and Xiao Jinming 蕭進銘, eds., *Taiwan de xiandao xinyang yu dandao wenhua* 臺灣的仙道信仰與丹道文化 (Taipei: Boyang, 2010), p. 84. Nan, Xiao, and Zhen must have met in Sichuan during the Sino-Japanese war.

¹³⁶ Xu Zhuoxiu 許卓修 (?-1969), alternate name Xu Guangcai 許光彩, from Shuangxiliu 双溪流 in Anhui. Trained at the military Academy for land forces in Wuhan, he served under the KMT as secretary of several military committees. Once relocated to Taiwan, he played an active role in the editing of Chiang Kai-shek's personal documents, a project called "Daxi dang'an 大溪檔案" (Daxi records), from the name of the place in north Taiwan where the documents were initially transferred to. On Xu Zhuoxiu's role in the editing and compilation of these materials, see Xu Zhaorui 許兆瑞, "Xu Zhuoxiu xiansheng dui jindaishi yanjiu zhi gongxian: jinian xianshu shishi ershi zhou nian jianshu 'Daxi dang'an' zhenbian zhi jingguo" 許卓修先生對近代史研究之貢獻--紀念先叔逝世二十週年兼述「大溪檔案」整編之經過, *Jindai Zhongguo* 近代中國 125.6 (1998), pp. 141-50. On this editorial process, see also Huang, "Creating a Public Face." Since Xiao was also partially involved in editing Chiang Kai-shek's speeches after coming to Taiwan, the two might have met during this process.

¹³⁷ Preface by Xiao Tianshi to *Daodejing jingyi* 道德經精義 by Huang Yuanji 黃元吉 (Huang Shang 黃裳) *Daozang jinghua* 4.1.1. Ma Bingwen also gave Xiao his own handwritten copy of *Taiji chongxuan zhidao xinshuan* 太極沖玄至道心傳, originally found in *Daozang jiyao*, which Xiao included in volume 9.5 of *Daozang jinghua*.

¹³⁸ There is very little information about Jiang; originally from Hefei 合肥 in Anhui 安徽, he was a poet as well as a Daoist adept (his Daoist name was Xie daoren 絜道人), and was part of a group of Nationalist intellectuals, editors and writers who were publishing poems on the *Minzu shitan* 民族詩壇 (National poetry platform).

Thread and the Ease and Simplicity of the True Trigger; 1814) and *Neijindan* 內金丹 (*Internal Golden Alchemy*). In his introduction to this text, Xiao quotes Jiang describing the reasons for passing the scriptures he had rescued to Xiao:

I found this book when I was in Beiping (Beijing); I came across it in Liulichang. Everybody who practices Daoism should read this book.... When I left China in 1950 fleeing for my life, I gave up everything; I only carried with me many different Daoist scriptures, and waited for a sign of good fortune. In 1953, I left Hong Kong, came to Taiwan, and met Xiao Tianshi; Mr. (Xiao), with his innate intelligence, is able to illuminate the Dao, and equally, with his compassion, he is able to save people. He has the generous wish to benefit life with magnificent methods. Because I trust him I gave him (my books) to publish. This is only one of many different volumes (I gave him).¹³⁹ 於昔年游北平時，無意於琉璃廠冷攤中得之者，此書乃學道者所必讀之書... 三十九年餘亡命海外，盡棄所有，獨攜出道書多種，以待有緣。四十二年由港來臺，幸晤通道蕭天石先生，先生宿慧以明道，等慈以濟眾，慨然有宏法利生之願，因悉畀以付梓，此編特多種中之一種也。

This passage highlights the sense of uncertainty and urgency in the transition from China to Taiwan, and the symbolic and cultural importance of the scriptures many people carried with them; it also indicates the clear conviction that rescuing and disseminating Daoist texts, and finding a trusted person to do so, was essential. Xiao was aware of his important role as transmitter and preserver, perceived this urgency and acted accordingly.

Xiao Tianshi was not the only intellectual to contribute to the revival of Daoism in Taiwan and to the transmission of Daoist scriptures and practices from China to Taiwan. Another example is Li Yujie 李玉階 (1901–1994), whose trajectory intersected Xiao's multiple times. Li is described by Palmer in a recent article as a "senior KMT cadre, public intellectual, and religious leader,"¹⁴⁰ who moved to Taiwan in 1948. As mentioned above, and as described in Palmer's article, despite the strong push for secularization and antitraditionalism of this period, there still was a strong undercurrent of religious beliefs, and many Republican-era leaders were involved in self-cultivation practices as well as in redemptive societies. Li Yujie, a prominent May Fourth activist who helped T. V. Soong draft China's first national business

¹³⁹ Preface to *Daoshu yiguan zhenji yijianlu*, 1814, by Fu Jinquan, *Daozang jinghua* 4.7.1.

¹⁴⁰ Palmer "Dao and Nation," pp. 173–95.

tax code, was at the same time a practitioner of *yangsheng* techniques, and a follower of Tiendejiao 天德教, a redemptive society founded by visionary Sichuan-born Xiao Changming in the 1930s; Li met Xiao Changming in Nanjing in 1930 and immediately became his follower; he was in fact instrumental in widening the reach of this “new religion,” which counted among its members influential elites, especially KMT party cadres in Shanghai and Nanjing.¹⁴¹ Li is thus a “case of a religious construction of the modern nation drawing heavily on Daoist sources combined with scientism and nationalism.”¹⁴² While Li Yujie did not relocate to Sichuan and spent the years of Japanese occupation as a hermit on Huashan, his Daoist practice also had strong nationalist overtones (he moved to a cave on Huashan to practice *yangsheng* and guard the Northwest Pass). His spiritual practices, which included meditation and communing with Daoist immortals, were supported and followed by many KMT officers, offering further confirmation that, despite anti-superstitious campaigns, many Nationalists found ways to combine secularist propaganda with religious beliefs and practices.¹⁴³ Once in Taiwan, Li Yujie, Xiao Tianshi, and several other leaders founded the above-mentioned Daoist Association of the Republic of China. Li and Xiao continued to have a close relationship in Taiwan; in the 1970s, Xiao was one of Li’s advisors on the project of re-establishing the Religion-Philosophy Research Society Zongjiao zhexue yanjiushe 宗教哲學研究社,¹⁴⁴ and, eventually, his religion, the Tiandijiao 天帝教, founded in 1979 and still practiced today. Xiao was also an active member of the Daoist subgroup of the Religion-Philosophy Research Society.¹⁴⁵ Another example of a similar trajectory is that of Song Jinren 宋今人 (1910–1984).¹⁴⁶ Originally from Wuxi 無錫,

¹⁴¹ On Xiao Changming, see Palmer, “Dao and Nation,” and Ownby, “Sainthood, Science, and Politics.”

¹⁴² Palmer, “Dao and Nation,” p. 173.

¹⁴³ For a detailed account of Li’s deep connections within the KMT and a list of some of his more prominent followers, see Ownby, “Sainthood, Science, and Politics.”

¹⁴⁴ Previously established by Xiao Changming in Sichuan.

¹⁴⁵ The above information on the relationship between Li and Xiao comes from a personal communication from David Ownby, who is finishing a biography of Li Yujie. This information is drawn from Li Yujie’s personal diaries covering the period from July 1973 through August 1983: Tiandijiao jiaoshi weiyuanhui 天帝教教史委員會, ed., *Hanjing laoren tianming zhi lu* 涵靜老人天命之路 (Taipei: Tiandijiao chuban yousi gongsi, 2009).

¹⁴⁶ On Song Jinren, see Li Shiwei 李世偉, “Jieyan qian Taiwan xiandao tuanti de jieshe yu huodong (1950–1987)” 解嚴前臺灣仙道團體的結社與活動 (1950–1987), in Lai Chi-tim, ed., *Xianggang yu Huanan daojiao yanjiu* 香港及華南道教研究 (Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 2005), p. 492. For the original account of Song Jinren’s experiences in Sichuan during the Sino-Japanese war, see Li Leqiu 李樂休, “Jingyang zailun: ‘Yijinjing’ yiwenzhong de anyu” 鏡陽再論《易筋經》一文中的按語, in *Xianxue* 仙學 25.4 (1972), pp. 137–38.

Jiangsu, Song too was a KMT official who relocated to Sichuan during the Japanese invasion. Very interested in Daoist practices, he moved to Leshan 樂山 in Sichuan, a mountain famous for both Buddhist and Daoist communities. According to lore, there, he fell ill and was healed by master Dong Xuchen 東徐震, from whom he received the transmission of a self-cultivation method (described in *Yijin jing* 易筋經, *Classic of Sinews Transformation*, which was included in Xiao Tianshi's *Daozang jinghua*).¹⁴⁷ Song relocated to Taiwan in 1949, and, just like Xiao, opened a publishing house, the Zhenshanmei 真善美出版社 in Taipei, committed to publishing works on Daoism and self-cultivation.¹⁴⁸ In 1978, the Zhenshanmei published a survey of Daoist practitioners in Taiwan, *Fangdao yulu* 訪道語錄 (*Records of Interviews in Search of the Dao*), by Li Leqiu 李樂休. Since most of the Daoists interviewed moved to Taiwan from mainland China after 1949, this collection is an essential tool for our understanding of the complex cross-straits histories of Daoist intellectuals and practitioners.¹⁴⁹

New Daoism?

Influenced by the intellectual trends of Republican China, Xiao's collection is different from previous Daoist collections, from which he draws: they had often been the manifestations of local cults, the production of local communities, or of individual authors. Xiao's thematic arrangement, his focus on *yangsheng* and shunning of ritual texts, his careful editing and discussion of the sources, his combination of texts from different schools and different regions of China is therefore an innovation. In the preface to *Daohai xuanwei*, Xiao discusses his *Daozang jinghua* in the following way: "This book is a collection of texts on the transmission of the way through which I have promoted New Daoist learning (*xin daoxue* 新道學) for the past twenty years."¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁷ A method known to Xiao as well, since he published the original *Zhenben Yijin jing* 真本易筋經, together with *Miben xisui jing* 秘本洗髓經 (Taipei: Ziyou chubanshe, 1976).

¹⁴⁸ The publishing house remained active until the 1990s under the leadership of Song's son Song Deling, an Irvine-based Raytheon electric engineer, but it has not been active since. Interestingly, the stock of unsold books was distributed through the Ziyou Chubanshe. Liu Xun, personal communication, March 2014.

¹⁴⁹ Li's book includes interviews with many of the intellectuals mentioned in this article, including Xiao Tianshi (pp. 189–200), Nan Huaijin (pp. 201–11), Yu Ancheng (pp. 177–82), Yuan Jiegui (pp. 303–38), Zhen Shizi (pp. 375–441), and Ma Bingwen (pp. 151–60).

¹⁵⁰ Xiao, *Daohai xuanwei*, introduction to the new edition, 1981, p. 1. This approach has been recently reappropriated by scholars as *xin Daojiao/xue* 新道教/學, new Daoism/Daoist learning, or "Neo-daoism," a reconstruction of Daoist knowledge resulting in a new, modern, form of Daoism. For a discussion of how and why Xiao might fit in the category of Neo-Daoists, see Chen Jingjing 陳靜靜, "Dangdai xindaojia yanjiu" 當代新道家研究, Ph.D. diss. (Shandong shifan daxue, 2012). See also Zhao Weidong 趙衛東, "Dangdai xindaojia de lilun dingwe" 當

Lee Fongmao, recognizing the paramount importance of political upheaval in this process, interprets Xiao's efforts as a way to reconstruct a Chinese identity in Taiwan:

In this way, all schools converged together on one island, one place, in a peculiar phenomenon; it is only due to the particular changes in the political situation that (this phenomenon) could manifest itself. In this way, the coexisting circumstances and the coming together of Northern and Southern schools—originally divided by the Yellow and the Yangzi rivers in North, South, East and West, just like foods from different regions ended up gathering together on one island, or in one city—only this could lead to the emergence of the late phenomenon of “harmonizing North and South.”¹⁵¹ 如是各門派匯萃於一島、一地的奇特現象，只有在這種特殊的政局鉅變下才會出現，如此並存的形勢而不分南北仙宗，這些本來分散於大河、大江南北西東的，就如多方的菜系盡萃於一個島上、或一個都會內，才會導致晚出的“南北和”現象

Lee's description is clearly influenced by the desire to celebrate Taiwan as the birthplace of a New Daoism, rising from the ashes of the Communist destruction, and only thanks to a “new political situation.” Xiao's legacy in Taiwan today is thus firmly connected to post-1949 Taiwanese political identity and glorified as a success for traditional Chinese culture. While the glorification of the rescuing of an important part of Chinese tradition works well politically, there is truth to the claim that Xiao restructured Daoist knowledge and made it available to a large audience in Taiwan, and now increasingly, in mainland China.

CONCLUSION

As mentioned in the introduction, many of Xiao's contemporaries and close friends saw their mission not only as simplifying, but also as rescuing and transmitting the Daoist tradition to Taiwan, continuing the work they had started in China, but with a renewed sense of urgency. This article has highlighted several elements of this process: the first is how Nationalist discourse (with the New Life Movement and the *xunlian* trainings), the discourse on modernity and science, and the anti-superstition campaigns, all deeply affected the development of Xiao Tianshi

代新道家的理論定位, *Hangzhou Shifan xueyuan xuebao* 杭州師範學院學報 2004, p. 6, and Fu Fengyin 傅凤英, “Xiao Tianshi daojiao yangshengxue de zhongji jingjie” 蕭天石道教養生學的終極境界, *Liaoning yixueyuan xuebao* 遼寧醫學院學報 6.2 (2008), pp. 55–61.

¹⁵¹ Li, “Dandao yu kexue, zhengzhi, p. 38.

as an intellectual, publisher, and later Daoist practitioner, both while in China and after his relocation to Taiwan. The influence of these ideologies is clear in Xiao's writings, from his first book, to his war time journal articles, to his editing work while in China, and finally in his publications in Taiwan. Thus Xiao's work in Daoist publishing cannot be divorced from his past as an official of the Nationalist government. His project, exemplified clearly in the name of the press he founded (*ziyou*自由) was meant to free Chinese tradition from the shackles of Communism, and rescuing it from sure destruction.

Secondly, the war effort and its physical displacements also affected Xiao, in slightly different ways – not only making his resolve more urgent, but also allowing him to come into contact with religious traditions, practices and practitioners that he had not known before, first in Sichuan and then in Taiwan. It is this series of displacements that eventually created the wide and eclectic network of intellectuals, officers, religious and charismatic leaders and practitioners, that Xiao drew upon in his various publishing endeavors once in Taiwan.

A further element, clearly connected to the previous ones, was Xiao's strong desire to provide a canon of traditional knowledge to his new homeland in Taiwan. He did this not only through his publication of Daoist texts, but also through a variety of other publications on Buddhism, Confucianism, and medicine. Notably, *Zhongguo zixue mingzhu jicheng* is dedicated to president Chiang Kai-shek.

Finally, we also have to see Xiao, as well as all of his contemporaries mentioned above (Li Yujie, Chen Yingning, but also Wang Yiting and, in the Buddhist milieu, Hongyi and Yinguang) as a part of the religious and self-cultivation market that was already developing in mainland China in the Republican period, so aptly described by Goossaert for the case of Beijing, by Liu Xun for Shanghai and by Yau Chi-on for Guangzhou and Hong Kong.¹⁵² Certainly, Taiwan was a new open market for those Republican officials, intellectuals and practitioners, lay followers of Daoism and redemptive societies, eager to re-invent themselves in a new land of opportunity, and Xiao, among others, found his niche. His business venture flourished, thanks also to the wide network of practitioners he created, and the *Ziyou chubanshe* is still open today in Taipei.

¹⁵² On the religious market, see Goossaert, *Daoists of Peking* (re. Beijing); Liu, *Daoist Modern* (re. Shanghai); and Yau Chi-on, "The Xiantian dao and Publishing in the Guangzhou-Hong Kong Area from the Late Qing to the 1930s: The Case of the Morality Book Publisher Wenzazi," in Clart and Scott, eds., *Religious Publishing and Print Culture*, pp. 187–232 (re. Guangzhou and Hong Kong).

Xiao's *Daozang jinghua* and his life's efforts on behalf of Daoism have not gone unnoticed in mainland China; they are well known in Sichuan and especially on Qingchengshan, where Xiao's son Xiao Dake, and Xiao's grand-daughter Xiao Minghua, have visited frequently in recent years. There has been discussion of bringing the books Xiao collected while in China to Qingchengshan, though this idea is still in the planning stages. If this is accomplished, these scriptures would have gone full circle, and this action would clearly indicate that there is no more need for the "freedom" from Communist China that Xiao had so clearly advocated for, and that the scriptures that Xiao "rescued" in 1949 are now safe if they return to the mainland.

Appendix

Contents of the first ji of Daozang jinghua

- 1 *Daojiao yangsheng mizhi daolun* 道家養生秘旨導論, 15 vols., selected by Xiao Tianshi
- 2 *Zhouyi Cantongqi zhengyi* 周易參同契正義, and *Zhouyi Cantogqi fahui* 周易參同契發揮, published together by Wei Boyang, Dong Dening, Yu Yan
- 3 *Zhonglü Daoquanji* 鍾呂道全集, 5 vols., by Zhong Liqian 鍾離權 and Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓
- 4 *Wuzhenpian zhengyi* 悟真篇正義, 7 vols., by Lü Chunyang (Dongbin) 呂純陽, Zhang Ziyang, and others
- 5 *Xingming guizhi* 性命圭旨 and *Guizhong zhinan* 規中指南, by Yin Zhenren 尹真人 and Chen Xubai 陳虛白
- 6 *Taijitushuo yu tongshu* 太極圖說與通書 and *Jindan dacheng jiyao* 金丹大成輯要, by Zhouzi Lianxi 周子濂溪 and 12 others
- 7 *Wu Chongxu dandao quanshu* 伍沖虛丹道全書 and *Daojiao rumen* 道教入門, by Wu Chongxu 伍沖虛 and Yin Shizi 因是子
- 8 *Longmen pai danfa jueyao* 龍門派丹法訣要 and *Quanzhen famai qinggui quanzhi* 全真法脈清規全旨, by Min Yide 閔一得
- 9 *Huangdi yinfujing* 黃帝陰符經 and *Huangting neiwaijing jing* 黃庭內外景經, by various authors
- 10 *Xishan qunxianhui zhenji* 西山群仙會真記 and *Jinlian zhengzongji* 金蓮正宗記, by Shi Jianwu 施肩吾, collated by Chu Li 樗櫟

The first volume of the first ji

- 1 *Daoxue gailun* 道學概論, by Xiao Tianshi 蕭天石
- 2 *Yangxing yanminglu, jiaojie bian* 養性延命錄, 教誡篇,
by Tao Youjing 陶宏景
- 3 *Fuqi changsheng bigu fa* 服氣長生辟穀法, anonymous
- 4 *Shesheng sanyao* 攝生三要, by Yuan Huang Kunyi 袁黃 坤儀
- 5 *Tianyinzi yangsheng shu* 天隱子養生書, by Sifa Chengzhen 司法承禎
- 6 *Jiangshe baoming pian* 將攝保命篇, anonymous
- 7 *Sheyang zhenzhongfang* 攝養枕中方, by Sun Simiao 孫思邈
- 8 *Zhengao pian* 真誥篇, by Zeng Zao 曾慥
- 9 *Guxian daoyin anmo fa* 古仙導引按摩法, anonymous
- 10 *Xiuling yaozhi* 修齡要旨, by Wu Linleng 武林冷 and Qian Qijing 謙啓敬
- 11 *Gufa yangsheng shisan ze chanyou* 古法養生十三則闡幽, anonymous
- 12 *Zhiyan zong yangsheng lun* 至言總養生論, unknown
- 13 *Yangsheng fuyu* 養生膚語, by Chen Jiru 陳繼儒
- 14 *Shesheng yueling* 攝生月令, by Yao Cheng 姚稱
- 15 *Shesheng xiaoxi lun* 攝生消息論, by Qiu Chuji 邱處機